THE ROLE OF FEUDATORIES IN
LATER CHŌḶA HISTORY

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ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

THE ROLE OF FEUDATORIES IN
LATER CHŌḶA HISTORY

Thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History

By

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PREFACE

The present book is my Ph.D. thesis approved by the Annamalai University in 1976. The importance of feudatory history in the study of any imperial history has been adequately stressed by Sir J. F. Fleet in the Bombay Gazetteer. In a sense, the present work is a continuation of my M. Litt. thesis about Pallava feudatories. Even a casual reading of the present thesis will confirm Fleet's dictum that no study of the history of the supreme dynasty will be complete without a detailed notice of at least the major feudatories. The reason is not difficult to understand. In an age when time and distance were realities, the maintenance of an empire depended to a great extent on the loyalty of the local rulers. This is truer in the case of Indian empires than in that of Western empires.

The book deals with the part played by more than twenty dynasties in the imperial affairs, political and cultural, of the Chōḷas. Monographs on some of these dynasties have been published by scholars like Dr T. V. Mahalingam, Mr. K. V. Subramanya Aiyer, Mr. K. S. Vaidyanathan, Mr. S. R. Balasubramaniam, Mr. V. Venkatasubba Ayyar, Mr. Vridhagirisan, Mr. M Rama Rao, Dr. Yasodadevi and others. But most of them were written long ago, and many important new records have since been published. Naturally, we cannot proceed solely on the basis of such works. The history of other dynasties has not received even such attention. On account of the serious uncertainties, genealogical and chronological, the task of making out the history of the feudatory dynasties has taken much more time in the investigation and space in the thesis than was expected.

The first section of each chapter is devoted to the political and military activities of the feudafories, and the next, to their cultural activities. In the case of some dynasties the evidence lends itself to exhaustive study; but in most cases it does not. As far as possible, original sources have been cited in the footnotes in support of the author's views.

Regarding proper names and their diacritical marks, the author follows the well-known method. Thus for example Chōḷa is followed for sōḷa. In the case of the imperial rulers this is strictly adhered to. But in the case of the feudatories the other form sōḷa is followed in their proper names in order to avoid inconsistencies of a different kind. In a way this may help the reader to distinguish the feudal chiefs from the imperial rulers of the same names. It may be noted that Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri and the Government Epigraphists also follow this method. When a proper name is spelt differently the commonest form is followed, and the diacritical marks placed accordingly.

I am deeply grateful to the Pro-Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor the Syndicate and the Research and Publication Committee of the Annamalai University for the publication of my thesis. My thanks are due to the U. G. C. for the financial help for the publication. I owe a deep debt of gratitude to my teacher the Late Prof. R. Sathianathaier for suggesting the subject of my research and guiding me till his retirement. I am thankful to the Retd. Prof A Krishnaswamy for his guidance and useful suggestions in the preparation of the thesis. I am happy to acknowledge the valuable help and guidance of Prof. D. Balasubramaniam under whose supervision I completed the work. My thanks are also due to Dr. Ar. Alagappan, in charge of the University Publications and to the Bharathi Printers, Musiri, for the neat execution of the printing of the work.

Annamalainagar *M. S. Govindasamy*

ABBREVIATIONS

A. R. E.	—	Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy.
C. L. I. P. S.	—	Chronological List of Inscriptions of Pudukkottai State.
E. C.	—	Epigraphia Carnatica.
E. I.	—	Epigraphia Indica.
H. I. S. I.	—	Historical Inscriptions of South India.
I. A.	—	Indian Antiquary.
J. A. H. R. S.	—	Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.
J. I. H.	—	Journal of Indian History.
J. M. U.	—	Journal of the Madras University.
J. O. R.	—	Journal of Oriental Research.
J. R. A. S.	—	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
M. P. S.	—	Manual of the Pudukkottai State.
Mys. Gaz.	—	Mysore Gazetteer.
N. I.	—	Nellore Inscriptions.
Q. J. M. S.	—	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.
S. I. I.	—	South Indian Inscriptions
S. I. T. I.	—	South Indian Temple Inscriptions.
T. A. S.	—	Travancore Archaeological Series.
T. D. Inss.	—	Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions.
T. L. I. M. P.	—	Topographical List of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency.

CHAPTER - I

SOURCES

For the history of the feudatories of the Later Chōḷas we have thousands of epigraphs besides a few literary works. The epigraphs of the feudatories, though numerous, lack the necessary genealogical and chronological data, so much so the task of making out their history inevitably overshadows the theme of our investigation. Most of the inscriptions are in Tamil and dated in the regnal year of the ruling emperors. Further they do not contain any historical introductions like those of the Imperial Chōḷas Since there were two or three emperors of the same name and since many records of such rulers were issued without the usual historical introductions one has to be very careful in identifying such records. There are also instances of feudatories issuing records in their own names and regnal years e. g. The Koṅgu Chōḷas. The full name of the feudatories are not always mentioned in their records. Sometimes only the dynastic name like Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ or Kāḍavarāya or Śambuvarāya is mentioned. Even

when the name of a feudatory is mentioned, it is not easy to identify him because two or three members of the same dynasty bore the same name. For instance there were two Kulōttuṅgas and three Vikramas in the history of the Koṅgu Chōḷas, two Rājarāja Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉs in Bāṇa history, two Kōpperuñjiṅgas in Kāḍava history, four Rājarāja Chēdirāyas in Malaiyamāṉ history and three Vīranarasiṅgas in Yādavarāya history. Apart from this, some feudatories assumed the typically imperial titles like Parakēsari, Rājakēsari, Tribhuvaṇa-chakaravarti or Tribhuvaṇavīra -e. g. the Koṅgu Chōḷas. This makes the problem of identification still more difficult. Nevertheless on the basis of existing evidence, epigraphical and literary, a good number of feudatory chiefs have been identified. It is true that discovery of any fresh evidence may confirm or invalidate some of those identifications.

Great care has to be taken in understanding the different versions of the evidence at our disposal. Sometimes the summaries given in the *Annual Reports on Epigraphy* are at variance with the original text. For example the daughter of Kōpperuñjiṅga I is wrongly described as the wife of that ruler in A. R. E. 1939-42. But the original text in S. I. I. Vol VIII gives the correct information. Despite these difficulties the mainstay of the historian is inscriptions Even when we know nothing about a feudatory the mere fact of his subordination to the imperial ruler has its importance. Sometimes only the names of feudatories help us to know their subordinate status.

Of the literary sources the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* of Jayaṅkoṇḍār and the *Ulās* of Oṭṭakkūttaṉ are of special importance. *Paraṇi*

and *Ulā* are two different categories of Tamil literature. The first is a war poem usually composed in the name of a vanquished ruler or country, and the second deals with the splendour of a hero in procession and its effects on the women on-lookers of different ages. Sometimes *Ulās* were composed about gods. Jayaṅkoṇḍār, the author of the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* was the chief court poet of Kulōttuṅga I and was also known as Kavichakravartti. His work throws some light on some Chōḷa vassals who took part in the Second Kaliṅga War of the emperor. Oṭṭakkūttaṉ, one of the greatest Tamil poets, composed *Ulās* on three generations of contemporary Chōḷa emperors, Vikrama, Kulōttuṅga II and Rājarāja II. The three *Ulās, Vikramasōḻaṉulā, Kulōttungasōḻaṉulā and Rājarājasōḻaṉulā* are the best of their kind. Though they are not historical works, they give us very rare information. That part of the *Ulā* which describes the ancestry and valour of the hero is particularly very useful. Certain events not mentioned in contemporary epigraphs are referred to in the *Ulās*. Similarly, some vassals are known only from the *Ulās*. But the information furnished by the *Ulās* is on the whole meagre. Oṭṭakkūttaṉ belongs to the 12th century.

The *Koṅgudēśarājākkaḷ* of whose authorship we know nothing probably belongs to the 17th century and is not very much useful for our purpose. It furnishes no information about the Koṅgu Chōḷas, and for making out the history of that dynasty we have to rely only on inscriptions.

Of the secondary sources listed in the bibliography, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's *The Cōḷas* (old and new editions) and

Mr. T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar's *Piṟkālasōḻar Charittiram* (Tamil) deserve special attention.

As to the chronology of the feudatory chiefs a word is necessary. Only in a few cases the dates are clearly known and in most cases we know only the age to which the feudatories belonged. More information on this matter depends upon the discovery of fresh evidence. As to the chronology of the Imperial Chōḷas, Mr. T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar's scheme is adopted in the thesis as it is more upto-date than that of Prof. Nilakanta Sastri. It is as follows:

1.	Vijayālaya	A. D.	846 - 881
2.	Āditya I	"	871 - 907
3.	Parāntaka I	"	907 - 953
4.	Gaṇḍarāditya	"	950 - 957
5.	Ariñjaya	"	956 - 957
6.	Sundara Chōḷa alias Parāntaka II	"	957 - 970
7.	Uttama Chōḷa	"	970 - 985
8.	Rājarāja I	"	985 - 1014
9.	Rājēndra I	"	1012 - 1044
10.	Rājādhirāja I	"	1018 - 1054
11.	Rājēndra II	"	1015 - 1063
12.	Vīrarājēndra	"	1063 - 1070
13.	Adhirājēndra	"	1070 - 1070

14.	Kulōttuṅga I	"	1070 - 1120
15.	Vikrama	"	1118 - 1136
16.	Kulōttuṅga II	"	1133 - 1150
17.	Rājarāja II	"	1146 - 1163
18.	Rājādhirāja II	"	1163 - 1178
19.	Kulōttuṅga III	"	1178 - 1218
20.	Rājarāja III	"	1216 - 1256
21.	Rājarāja III	"	1246 - 1279

CHAPTER - II

THE KOḌUMBĀḶŪR CHIEFS

Situated between the Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya kingdoms, Koḍumbāḷūr in the Pudukkottai district was a renowned city even in the Saṅgam period. It was the capital of the Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs, also known as Irukkuvēḷs, an important feudatory dynasty of the early period of the Imperial Chōḷas. The Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs were of, as Prof. Sathianathaier thinks, Kaḷabhra origin[1]. There is clear evidence that some Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs were feudatory to the Pallavas in the 9th century[2]. But they did not bear the title of Irukkuvēḷ. The Mūvarkōvil inscription of Bhūti Vikramakēsari upon which the early history of the Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs is based, deserves our attention on account of its relevance for our investigation, and the text is furnished below.

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[1] *contra*, Dr. Arokiaswami - '*The Early History of the Veḷḷār Basin*. Chap. I.

[2] M. S. Govindasamy, *The Role of Feudatories in Pallava History*. pp. 80 and 81.

"There was ... ... the capturer of herd of elephants of the lord ... ...

(1) Of his family was Pravīrajit; the glorious Vīratuṅga, the vanquisher of the Maḷava, was born of him (came) the glorious Nṛpakēsari (lion of kings) who as a child grew up with the serpents; his son was the celebrated Paradurgamardana (the destroyer of enemy forts) conqueror of Vātāpi.

(2) Of him who had a divine splendour, Samarābhirāma (delightful in battle) was the son who attacked (or killed) the Caḷukki, in the battle of Adhirājamaṅgala.

(3) Of him, who was the banner of the Yaduvamsa, Anupamā (peerless) rightly so called, the daughter of the Cōḷa king, was the beloved (wife) who resembled Lakshmi (the wife) of Vishṇu, Sarasvati of the lotus-born (Brahma) and Girija (mountain-born) of Hara himself.

(4) Of her was born to him the glorious king Bhūti, who bore the alternative name minnāmalā (?) and who earned in war the title of Vikramakēsari (the lion of valour).

(5) The water of the Kāvēri was turned red with blood of the Pallava forces; and this warrior defeated Vīrapāṇḍya in battle and became death to Vañcivēḷ.

(6) After fighting the rutting elephants, viz., his foes, Vikramakēsari was living in the palace on the hill in the city of Koḍumbāḷūr.

(7) While the earth was ruled by him, the Kalpatāru to the learned, the moon to the lotuses, viz., the two hends of the (subordinate) kings (i. e., they closed their palms together in salutation) and the beloved of the goddesses of Earth, Victory, Prosperity, Fame and Speech, sharpness was found (only) in his pair of eyes, instability in the two eyelashes and darkness in the hair (or women); weakness in their bodies; and jostling in the pair of their breasts.

(8) He had two good wives called Kaṟṟaḷi and Varaguṇā; and Kaṟṟaḷi became the mother of two very beautiful (sons) Parāntaka and Ādityavarmaṇ.

(9) There was the glorious Mallikārjunā, born of the Atrēyagōtra, resident of Mathurā, the master of the Vēdā and the pupil of Vidyārāsi and Topōrāsi, the abode of austerity.

(10) Having raised the theree *vimāṇas* in his name and in the name of his two wives and having enshrined Mahēśvara, he (Vikramakēsari) gave to him (Mallikārjuna) a big *maṭha*.

(11) The Yadava gave to that ascetic chief of the Kāḷāmuksh persuasion a big *maṭha* together with eleven villages attached to it.

(12) For the enjoyment of fifty Asita-vaktra (Kālāmukha) asceti the big *maṭha* ... ... that king ... ... offerings, sandals, flowers, aksata, dhūpa, dīpa, tam (būla), ...[1]

[1] J. *O. R.*, Vol. VII, pp. 9 and 10.

The record is in Sanskrit and Grantha script, and is damaged both at the beginning and the end. There are different views on the date and contents of the inscription. Mr. V. Venkayya ascribes the record to the first half of the 10th century A. D. on the ground that the Vīra Pāṇḍya defeated by Bhūti Vikramakēsari is identical with his namesake defeated by the Chōḷa prince Āditya II Karikāla, son of Sundara Chōḷa, and that Vikramakēsari and his family are mentioned in the Chōḷa inscriptions of the 10th century. On Vikramakesari's grandfather's conquest of Vātāpi Mr Venkayya makes no definitive conclusion[2]. Mr. H. Krishna Sastri thinks that palaeographically the inscription is assignable to a period earlier than that of Āditya II Karikāla[1]. On the basis of Vikramakēsari's conflict with the Pallavas and on the basis of the identification of Vikramakēsari with Tennavaṉ Iḷaṅgōvēḷāṉ alias Maṟavaṉ Pūdiyār, mentioned in a Rājakēsari inscription dated 27th year referable to Āditya I, Mr. K. V. Subramanya Aiyar and K. S. Vaidyanathan think that Bhūti Vikramakēsari must have ruled between A. D. 898 and 9.3[2].

In his article on the Mūvarkōvil inscription in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol VII, Prof Nilakanta Sastri says "that the mention of Vikramakēsari's queens in Rājakēsari inscriptions and the facts that Sundara Cōḷa is a Rājakēsari, that an inscription of his is

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[2] *A. R. E.* 1908, Pt. II, Paragraphs 88 to 90.
[1] *S. I. I.* Vol III, p. 249.
[2] *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. 43, pp 86 - 88.

found in Koḍumbāḷūr and that a general from Koḍumbāḷūr fought in Sundara Chōḷa's army in the Pāṇḍya country doubtless in the same war with Vīra Pāṇḍya in which Āditya II, the son of Sundara Cōḷa distinguished himself furnish conclusive proof of the political subordination of Vikramakēsari to Sundara Chōḷa Parāntaka II[3]". But proceeding on this basis Prof. Sastri finds it difficult to explain Satisfactorily Paradurgamardana's conquest of Vātāpi or Samarābhirāma's slaying of a Chāḷukya or Bhūti Vikramakēsari's war with the Pallavas[4]. Further he says that the Chāḷukya mentioned in the inscription may have been either a local; chief or may be identical with a Rāshṭrakūṭa also known as Vallabha similarly, the Pallavas referred to in the record is thought to be a local dynasty of chiefs[1]. Moreover, concerning the script of the inscription Prof. Sastri is of opinion that it possesses all the features of "the transitional variety of Grantha which grew up in the 9th and 10th centuries A. D."[2].

On the other hand Dr. Mr. Arokiaswami following Fr. Heras, ascribes the inscription to the 7th century A. D. on the grounds that Paradurgamardana's conquest of Vātāpi and Samarābhirāma's successful campaign at Adhirājamaṅgala resulting in the deāth of a

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[3]J. *O. K.*, Vol. VII, p 5.
[4]*ibid* pp. 7 and 8.
[1]J. *O. K.*, Vol. VII pp. 6 and 7.
[2]*ibid* p. 2.

Chāḷukya, must be connected with the Pallava-Chāḷukya struggle in the time of Pallava Narasiṁhavarmaṉ I, that the identification of the Vīra Pāṇḍya mentioned in the record with the Pāṇḍya who was the adversary of Āditya II Karikāla would make it impossible to explain the anti-Chāḷukya achievements of the Irukkuvēḷs and that the palaeographical evidence should not be preferred to "an established fact to which the inscription assuredly refers"[3]. Further, Dr. Arokiaswami concurs in Fr. Heras's view that the architectural style of the Mūvarkōvil temple is unique[4]. Regarding Vikramakēsari's conflict with Vīra Pāṇḍya and the Pallavas, Dr. Arokiaswami says that Vīra Pāṇḍya may be identical with Arikēsarivarmaṉ Pāṇḍya (c. A. D. 670-c. 710) and that the Pallava adversary must be Paramēśvaravarmaṉ I[1].

Now let us examine these views. Mr. Venkayya broadly indicates the period to which the Mūvarkōvil inscription may be ascribed but does not give any specific date for it. Further his statement that the members of Vikramakēsari's family are referred to in the records of the 10th century A. D. requires correction as they are mentioned even in the epigraphs of the previous century[2]. Mr. K. V. Subramanya Aiyar and Mr. K. S. Vaidyanathan also fail

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[3]*op. cit.* pp. 55-59.

[4]*ibid* p. 142.

[1]*ibid.* pp 85 and 86. For further details of Dr. Arokiaswami's view, see, M. S, Govindasamy, *op. cit.* pp. 73-77.

[2]See below pp. 13 and 14.

to mention any specific date for the record. Their view on the date of Vikramakēsari based on the illfounded theory of two Vikramakēsaris, cannot give any indication about the date of the inscription.

I, too, once believed in the probability of Prof. Sastri's view that Vikramakēsari was a contemporary of Sundara Chōḷa (A. D. 957-970)[3]. But now, on further study of all the available evidence I could not but come to the conclusion that it is untenable. No definite record of Sundara Chōḷa mentions the name of Bhūti Vikramakēsari. The Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs who figure prominently in Sundara Chōḷa's epigraphs are Mahimālaya Irukkuvēḷ alias Parāntaka Vīrasōḻaṉ[4] and Parāntakaṉ Iruṅgōḷaṉ alias Siṟiyavēḷāṉ[1]. Bhūti Vikramakēsari's conflict with Vīra Pāṇḍya could be antedated[2]. Varaguṇā, Bhūti's other wife could not be identified with Varaguṇaperumāṉār, wife of Parāntaka Iḷangovēḷ who was a contemporary of Sundara Chōḷa[3]. The Pallavas referred to in the Mūvarkōvil inscription, could not be identical with the Pallavarāyas of the Pudukkottai region. The former must be identified with the Noḷamba Pallavas who ruled over

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[3]M. S. Govindasamy, *op. cit.* p. 80.

[4]S. I. I., Vol. XIII, Nos. 23, *117* and 118; *C. L. I. P. S.* Nos. 24 and 30.

[1]*S. I. I.*, Vol. XIII Nos. 9, 84, 85, 233 and 246; Vol. III Nos. 120 and *121*.

Q. I. M. S., Vol. 43 p. 88.

contra, *I. O. R.* Vol. VII, P.4.

the Dharmapuri region (Salem district) in the last decades of the 9th century[4]. The Chāḷukya mentioned in the record, could be neither a local chief nor a Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler as suggested by Prof. Sastri.

Dr. Arokiaswami does not deny the view that the script of the Mūvarkōvil inscription is assignable to the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. He only prefers other evidences to palaeography. His view on the architecture of the Mūvarkōvil temple is not borne out by facts. Even Fr. Heras plainly admits that "the general style of the temples, the technique of the sculpture and the system of construction appear Chōḷa rathar than Pallava and look more of the 10th century than of the seventh[5]". The view that the *vimāṇa* of the temple is unique has been refuted by Mr. S. R. Balasubramaniam and Mr. K. Venkataranga Raju who hold that "the Kodumbalur *vimḍṇa* is not an isolated and unique work of a genius, but it has precedents and consequents" and that "*Śikharas* of Kāliyapaṭṭi Koḍumbāḷūr, Ēnādi Tirukkaṭṭaḷai. Tiruppūr and Viśalūr and even the distant Saṅgamēśvara temple at Paṭṭaḍakkal, of perhaps the 8th century-are very similar"[1].

Dr. Arokiaswami's identification of the Vīra Pāṇḍya referred to in the record with Arikēsarivarman Pāṇḍya (c. A. D. 670-c. 710) is highly improbable because the latter's relations with the Chōḷas were friendly. Further, we have no evidence that Arikēsarivarmaṉ was

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[4]see below p. 16.

[5]J. *R. A. S.*, 1934, pp. 43.44.

[1]J. *O. R.*, Vol XII, (1938), p. 69.

also called Vīra Pāṇḍya. The Vīra Pāṇḍya of the Mūvarkōvil record must be identical with the 10th century Pāṇḍya ruler of that name. He must be a younger contemporary of the Chōḷa emperor Parāntaka I, and most probably fought along with his father, Rājasiṁha III against the Chōḷas and the Koḍumbaḷūr chiefs.

Again Dr. Arokiaswami's contention that Bhūti Vikramakēsari gave up his predecessors' policy of friendship with the Pallavas, sided with the Chōḷas and defeated the Pallavas, is not convincing for the reason that in the 7th century the Chōḷa power was still in eclipse[2].

Further, there is clear inscriptional evidence against Dr. Arokiaswami's view about the date of Vikramakēsari. Kaṟṟaḷi, one of the two wives of Bhūti Vikramakēsari is referred to in the records of Āditya I Chōḷa and of his son Parāntaka I. A dateless Rājakēsari inscription from Tiruppalātturai referable to Āditya I Chōḷa[3] mentions Naṅgai Kaṟṟaḷi Pirāṭṭiyār, wife of Teṉṉavaṉ Iḷaṅgōvēḷāṉ Maṟavaṉ Pūdiyār. This Teṉṉavaṉ Iḷaṅgōvēḷāṉ Maṟavaṉ Pūdiyār was the same as Bhūti Vikramakēsari[1]. The same chief is mentioned in another Rājakēsari inscription dated 27th year from

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[2]For further details vide, M. S. Govindasamy, *op. cit.* p. 77.

[3]*S I I.*, Vol. VIII, No.581.

[1]*A. R. E.* 1908, Pt. II, Paragraph 90; Vikramakēsari was a title assumed later by Bhūti.

the same place[2], and the Rājakēsari of this record is undoubtedly Āditya I Chōḷa[3]. An epigraph of Parāntaka I Chōḷa mentions Kaṟṟaḷi[4]. Some other epigraphs of the same Chōḷa emperor mention Bhūti Vikramakēsari with the title of Madurāntaka Irukkuvēḷ[5]. Again, Bhūti's two sons, Parāntaka and Āditya and daughter, Pūdi Ādichcha Piḍāriyār figure in many lithic records of Āditya I and Parāntaka I[6]. All these and the other inscriptional data given above, point to the fact that Bhūti Vikramakēsari was a contemporary of Āditya I (A. D. 871-907) and his son Parāntaka I (A. D. 907-953). As regards the Probable date of the Mūvarkōvil inscription, since the record does not mention Vikramakēsari's later title, Madurāntaka Irukkuvēḷ, which he bore from the 16th year of Parāntaka I i. e., A. D. 923, it must have been issued some time before it, probably after the Chōḷa victory over the Pāṇḍya at Veḷḷūr in A. D. 919.

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[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 60.

[3] *Q. J. M. S.* Vol. 43 (1952–53) p. 87.

[4] 353 of 1918.

[5] 318 of 1903; 335, 336 and 339 of 1904. Aḷḷ these Parakēsari records undoubtedly belong to Parāntaka I Chōḷa. Āchchaṉ Vikramakēsariyār alias Madurāntaka Irukkuvēḷ mentioned in these records is certainly Bhūti Vikramakēsari. *Vide*, *A. R. E.*, 1908 Pt. II, paragraph 90.

[6] 348, 349, 357, 358 and 359 1903; 321 and 337 of 1904; 315 and 323 of 1903; 686 and 690 of 1904; 309, 310, 311, 312, 314, 316, 317, 319, 320 and 322 of 1903; for further details see below.

Paradurgamardana and Samarābhirāma: (c. A. D. 850-c. 880)

Proceeding on the basis that Vikramakēsari was contemporary of Āditya I Chōḷa and his son, Parāntaka I, let us now examine the history of his predecessors as far as we require. Paradurgamardana, the grandfather of Bhūti, is described in the Mūvarkōvil inscription as the conqueror of Vātāpi, and Samarābhirāma, the father of Bhūti, is said to have killed the Chāḷukya at the battle of Adhirājamaṅgala[1]. We know neither the date nor the circumstances leading to these events. The conquest of Vātāpi and the slaying of the Chāḷukya at the battle of Adhirājamaṅgala need not be connected with the Pallava campaign against Pulakēsin II in the 7th century A. D[2]. Whatever be the meaning of the word Chāḷukya, the battle referred to in the inscription, could not be a mere local skirmish. Both the events need to be examined in the context of the Chōḷa–Rāshṭrakūṭa alliance. Āditya I Chōḷa's relations with the contemporary Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor, Krishṇa II, were very friendly. In fact, the Chōḷa king had a Rāshṭrakūṭa princess for his queen. Anupamā, the wife of Samarābhirāma, was most probably the daughter of Āditya I by that Rāshṭrakūṭa princess. In the latter half of the 9th century A. D. when the Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler was confronted with the rebellions of his formidable Eastern Chāḷukya Vassals, Vijayāditya III and Bhīma I, Āditya I Chōḷa must have sent these two Koḍumbaḷūr chiefs to assist his Rāshṭrakūṭa ally. Thus Paradurgamardana and his son

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[1] *J. O. R.*, Vol. VII, p. 9.

[2] *contra*, Dr. Arokiaswami, *op.cit.*, 56-59.

Samarābhirāma gained opportunities to fight against the Chāḷukyas. There is no other way of accounting for these events.

Bhūti Vikramakēsari : (c. A. D. 880 - c. 930)

Bhūti Vikramakēsari is described in earlier records as Teṉṉavaṉ Iḷaṅgōvēḷāṉ Maṟavaṉ Pūdiyār. According to the Mūvarkōvil inscription he had the alternative name of 'minnāmalā' and earned in war the title of Vikramakēsari[1]. Subsequently, as noted above, he bore the title of Madurāntaka Irukkuvēḷ.

According to the Mūvarkōvil inscription the first achievement of Bhūti is his successful war with the Pallavas. We know neither the name of the Pallava adversary nor the date of the conflict. Prof. Sastri's view that the Pallava adversary of Bhūti may have been a local chief is not convincing; nor can it be a wrong reference to the Rāshṭrakūṭa invasion of the Chōḷa empire[2]. As already stated, the only possible explanation is that in the course of Āditya I's conquest of Koṅgu, Bhūti must have fought with and triumphed over the Noḷamba Pallavas who called themselves Pallavas and who ruled over a part of the Koṅgu country in the last quarter of the 9th century[3]. Bhūti's conflicts with Vira Pāṇḍya and Vañjivēḷ[4] must have happened in the time of Parāntaka I Chōḷa. Here again there is no possibility of knowing the date or the place of the fighting. It is probable that even before

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[1] *J. O. R.* Vol., VII, p. 10.

[2] *contra, ibid*, p. 7

[3] *A. R. E.*, 1911, pt. II, p. 65.

[4] *J. O. R*, Vol., VII, p. 10.

Vīra Pāṇḍya came to the throne this conflict must have taken place[1]. That Bhūti triumphed over Vīra Pāṇḍya but did not kill him is clear from the Mūvarkōvil inscription and other records[2]. It is very likely that this conflict is identical or connected with Parāntaka I Chōḷa's war with Rājasiṁha III Pāṇḍya, the father of Vīra Pāṇḍya. The war went on for several years and was fought in many places. The Siṉṉamaṉūr Plates of Rājasiṁha III Pāṇḍya[3] make a specific reference to his conflict with a Koḍumbāḷūr chief[4]. Bhūti's assistance to Parāntaka I Chōḷa in his cōnquest of the Pāṇḍya country must have been so great as to earn from that Chōḷa the title of Madurāntaka Irukkuvēḷ[5]. As regards the war with Vañjivēḷ, it is not possible to give any more information. Rājasiṁha III Pāṇḍya also, according to the Siṉṉamaṉūr Plates,[6] claims to have burnt Vañji. Is this Vañji the capital of the Chēras or some other place ? Karūr, in the Trichinopoly district, also had the name of Vañji[7]. So, it is difficult to know anything more about this achievement of Bhūti.

It is difficult to identify Bhūti Vikramakēsari with Vikkiaṉṉaṉ who received the title of Sembiyaṉ Tamiḷvēḷ from Āditya I Chōḷa and his Chēra ally[8]. The Mūvarkōvil inscription makes no mention of the

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[1] *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. 43, p. 87.

[2] *The Cōḷas* p. 154.

[3] *S. I. I.* Vol. III, No. 206.

[4] Mr. T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar identifies this Koḍumbāḷūr chief with Bhūti Vikramakēsari; *vide*, *Pāṇḍyar Varalāṟu*, p. 80.

[5] Nos. 335 and 336 of 1904.

[6] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 206.

[7] 335 of 1927-28.

[8] *S. I. I.* Vol. III, No. 89

title Sembiyaṉ Tamiḻvēḷ or Kaḍambamādēvi, the wife of Vikkiaṇṇaṉ; nor does the Tillaśthāṉam inscription which mentions Vikkiaṇṇaṉ. refer to any name or title of Bhūti or to Koḍumbāḷūr.

Bhūti Vikramakēsari's influence in imperial affairs was due not only to his prowess in war but also to his close relations with the imperial family. As noted above in the Mūvarkōvil record, he was himself the son of a Chōḷa princess, probably a daughter of Aditya I Chōḷa. Pūdimādēvaḍigal, probably the sister of Bhūti, was married to Kaṇṇaradēva, another son of Āditya I Chōḷa[1]. Bhūti's daughter, Pūdi Ādichcha Piḍāriyār, was married to Parāntaka I Chōḷa's son Ariñjaya[2]. Bhūti's elder son, Pūdi Parāntakaṉ, married a Chōḷa princess by name Sōḻaperundēvi, most probably a daughter of Parāntaka I Chōḷa[3].

The theory of two Vikramakēsaris postulated by the Epigraphists Mr. K. V. Subramanya Aiyar and Mr. K. S. Vaidyanathan[4]. is untenable for various reasons. Firstly, there is no specific evidence that Bhūti Vikramakēsari had a grandson by name Madurāntaka Irukkuvēḷ alias Ādittaṉ Pūdi also called Adittaṉ Vikramakēsari. Secondly, the supposed grandson of Bhūti is not heard of after the 22nd year of Parāntaka I Chōḷa although the two Epigraphists allow him a long period - A. D. 928-958[5]. Thirdly, Bhūti and his

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[1]356 of 1903; *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 665
[2]162 of 1903; *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 28.
[3]337 of 1903; *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII No. 646.
[4]*Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. 43, pp. 85 - 94.
[5]*ibid* p. 94.

younger son had the surname Āditya[1], and to distinguish the father from the son, the word Āchchaṉ (i. e., father) is specifically used in an epigraph of Parāntaka I dated 21st year[2]. It is, therefore, certain that Bhūti Vikramakēsari is identical with Madurāntaka Irukkuvēḷ.

Bhūti Vikramakēsari was famous not only for his military achievements but also for his contribution to religion and arts. We shall note them in due place.

Śembiyaṉ Irukkuvēḷ alias Pūdi Parāntakaṉ and Ādityavarmaṉ or Śembiyaṉ Iḷaṅgōvēḷ alias Pūdi Āditya Piḍāraṉ

According to the Mūvarkōvil inscription, Būhti Vikramakēsari had two sons, Parāntaka and Ādityavarmaṉ[3]. The elder son Pūdi Parāntakaṉ figures with the title of Śembiyaṉ Irukkuvēḷ in the reign of Parāntaka I Chōḷa[4]. As noted above, he had a Chōḷa princess for his wife, probably a daughter of Parāntaka I Chōḷa[5]. He had other wives[6], one of them being a Muttaraiya princess[7]. No information

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[1]Bhūti must have called himself Āditya in token of his subordination, and his son must have been named after the maternal grandfather, Āditya I Chōḷa.

[2]335 of 1904; *S. I. I.*, Vol. XIX No. 413.

[3]J. *O. R.* Vol. VII, p. 10.

[4]337 of 1904 and 359 of 1903; *S. I. I.* Vol XIX intro. pp. X and XI. Dr. Arokiaswami wrognly identifies this chief with Bhūti Vikramakēsari, *op. cit.* p. 96.

[5]337 of 1903; *S. I. I.* Vol VIII No. 646.

[6]337, 357 and 348 of 1903.

[7]337 of 1903.

is available about his political or military activity, and the available evidence is about his religious benefactions. Similarly, the details of the career of his younger brother Ādityavarmaṉ also known as Śembiyaṉ Iḷaṅgōvēḷ alias Pūdi Āditya Piḍāran[1] are not known to us. The fact that the elder brother Pūdi Parāntaka is not heard of after the 14th year of Parāntaka I Chōḷa, raises a doubt whether he predeceased his father, Bhūti Vikramakēsari.

Parāntakaṉ Kuñjaramallhaṉ alias Virasōḷa Iḷaṅgōvēḷ(c. A. D. 930 - c. 967):

The next known chief of Koḍumbāḷūr is Parāntakaṉ Kuñjaramallaṉ also known as Vīrasōḷa Iḷaṅgōvēḷ[2], probably the son of Śembiyaṉ Irukkuvēḷ[3]. He is the same as Vīrasōḷa Iḷaṅgōvēḷ referred to in an epigraph of Parāntaka dated 23rd year[4]. Very probably he is identical with Mahimālaya Irukkuvēḷ alias Parāntakaṉ Vīrasōlaṉ[5] Again it was this Koḍumbāḷūr chief who married Varaguṇaperumāṉār,

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. XIX, No. 297.

[2] *C. L. I. P. S.* No. 2 5.

[3] *Q.* J. *M. S.*, Vol. 43, p. 91.

[4] 323 pf 1903.

[5] *S. I. I.*, Vol. XIII, Nos. 117 and 118; *C. L. I. P. S.* No. 24 and 30; *M. P. S*, Vol II, pt. II p. 1257; *contra*, *Q.* J. *M. S.* Vol. 43, p. 91 and *S. I I.* XIX Intro. pp. X and XI. Virasōḷa Iḷaṅgōvēlār mentioned in a Parakēsari record from Trichinopoly dt., dated 10th year is different from this chief and very probably belongs to the period of Uttama Chōḷa. *contra*, *A.* R. *E.*, 1909, paragraph 37.

Sundara Chōḷa's sister[1]. The records of this chief mention his numerous gifts to temples but do not throw adequate light on his military or political activity. An inscription from Kuḍumiyāmalai of Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya refers to an earlier record, according to which this Koḍumbāḷūr chief made a gift before his invasion of Ceylon in the 33rd year of Parakēsarivarmaṉ[2]. The Parakēsarivarmaṉ referred to in the record is undoubtedly Parāntaka I Chōḷa and the invasion of Ceylon must be identical with that Chōḷa emperor's invasion of that island. Other details of the role of the Koḍumbāḷūr chief in this invasion are not available. As to the date of the invasion it must have happened some time between A. D. 940 and 944[3].

Parāntakaṉ Iruṅgōḷaṉ alias Siṟiyavēḷāṉ:

Parāntakaṉ Iruṅgōlaṉ alias Siṟiyavēḷāṉ also known as Tirukkaṟṟali Pichchaṉ[4], was very probably the brother of the preceding chieftain. As the two brothers had the same name or surname, Parāntaka, the word Siṟiyavēḷāṉ meaning the younger chief, is used in many inscriptions[5]. He was also known as Vīra Iruṅgōḷār[6]. He was a vassal of Sundara Chōḷa, and led the Chōḷa expedition to Ceylon.

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[1] 277 of 1911 and 250 of 1931.

[2] *C. L. I. P. S.* No. 255 (Tamil text)

[3] *vide* T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, *Pirkāla Soḻar Charittiram* Vol. I, pp 41 and 42.

[4] *E. I* Vol. XII No. 15; *S. I. I.* Vol. III No. 120,

[5] e. g., *S. I. I.* Vol. XIII Nos. 9 and 84. vide *Q. J. M. S.* Vol. 43, p. 92.

[6] *ibid.*

In spite of his victory he was killed in the war about A. D. 964[1]. His wife, Rājādichchi, daughter, Kuñjaramalli and son, Vēḷāṉ Sundarasōḷaṉ, figure in many records of Sundara Chōḷa.

Later Koḍumbāḷūr Chiefs:

The next Koḍumbāḷūr chief is Madurāntakaṉ Achchapiḍāraṉ, son of Virasōḷa Iḷaṅgōvēḷār[2]. He was also known as Madurāntakaṉ Sundarasōḷa alias Rājarāja Iḷaṅgōvēḷāṉ[3]. He was the successor of Parāntakaṉ Siṟiyavēḷāṉ alias Tirukkaṟṟaḷi Pichchaṉ. He was a general of Rājarāja I Chōḷa, and, as his surname suggests, he may have participated in the Chōḷa, campaign against the Pāṇḍyas[4].

An inscription of Rājēndra I Chōḷa dated 8th year mentions a certain Rājēndrasōḷa Irukkuvēḷār of Koḍumbāḷūr[5]. His relationship to Madurāntakaṉ Sundarasōḷa alias Rājarāja Iḷaṅgōvēḷān is not known; nor do we know any other details of his political or military career.

The next known Koḍumbāḷūr chief is Madurāntakaṉ alias Taṇḍanāyakaṉ (general) Rājādhirāja Iḷaṅgōvēḷāṉ who might, in all probability, be a contemporary of Rājēndra II Chōḷa[6]. Further details of his career are not available.

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[1]S. *I. I.*, Vol, V, No. 980 and *E. I.* Vol. XIII, p 124.
[2]S. *I. I.*, Vol. XIII, No. 33.
[3]370 of 1953-54.
[4]*C. L. I. P.* S., No. 191.
[5]'97 of 1892; S. *I. I.* Vol. IV, No. 544.
[6]143 of 1912.

Again there was another Irukkuvēḷ general figuring in the inscriptions of Adhirājēndra Chōḷa and Kuḷōttuṅga I Chōḷa. He was Vīrasōḷa Iḷaṅgōvēlāṉ also known as Rājarājaṉ Jayaṅkoṇḍasōḻa alias Paranṟiparākshasaṉār[1]. His surnames show that he must have been a renowned Chōḷa general. Still, we know no details of his martial career.

Apart from these, a certain Irāsiṅgaṉ Uttamaśīlaṉ alias Mummudisōḻa Irukkuvēḷ figures in a Rājakēsari record from the Pudukkottai district[2]. Another Rājakēsari inscription from the Tanjore district mentions a certain Vikramasōḻa Iḷaṅgōvēḷār who married a Paḻuvēṭṭaraiya princess[3]. The place of these chiefs in the Irukkuvēḷ genealogy is not known.

Service to Religion:

The Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs, like their imperial masters, were ardent Śaivas supporting religious teachers, building temples and *maṭhas*, and endowing them with lands and gold. According to the Mūvarkōvil inscription[4], Bhūti Vikramakēsari built at Koḍumbāḷur a temple consisting of three shrines, one in his name and the other two in the name of his wives, Kaṟṟaḷi and Varaguṇā. A fragmentary Kaṉṉaḍa record found at Koḍumbāḷūr mentions Vikramakēsarīśvara[5]. thus confirming

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[1] *S. I. I*, Vol. VIII Nos. 4 and 754; 418 of 1902; 438 of 1903; 131 of 1912.

[2] *C. L. I. P. S* No. 26.

[3] *S. I. I*, Vol. V No. 671; 110 of 1895.

[4] *J. O. R.*, Vol. VII, p. 10.

[5] 140 of 1907.

the Mūvarkōvil record. Originally the entire temple was known as Tiruppūdīśvaram, obviously named after Bhūti[1]. Later it came to be known as Mūvarkōvil[2]. A Rājakēsari epigraph dated 21st year[3] ascribable to Āditya I Chōḷa, contains the earliest reference to this temple thus enabling us to fix the probable date of the construction viz., before A. D. 891[4]. The Śiva temple at Tiruchchendurai (Trichinopoly dt.) was built by Bhūti's daughter[5]. It was provided with a flower garden by Bhūti Vikramakēsari in the 23rd year of Parāntaka I Chōḷa[6]. That the garden was called Vikramakēsari Tirunandavaṉam is learnt from a record of Rājēndra I Chōḷa[7]. It is probable that the Śiva temple at Naṅgavaram (Trichinopoly dt.) was built by Bhūti Vikramakēsari. This temple was also known as Maravaṉīśvaragraham or Tirumaravaṉīśvaram obviously named after Maṟavaṉ Bhūti alias Vikramakēsari[8]. The name Maṟavaṉīśvaragraham may raise a doubt whether it was built by any Paḻuvēṭṭaraiya chieftain because some of them bore the name Maṟavaṉ[9]. But the absence of any Paḻuvēṭṭaraiya inscription in the temple precludes the possibility.

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[1]S. *I. I.*, Vol VIII No. 555; *C. L. I. P.* S. No. 33.

[2]*A. R. E.*, 1908. Pt. II, paragraph 90; *contra*, *M. P.* S. Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 581 and S. R. Balasubramaniam, *Muṟkālachsōḻar Kalaiyum Siṟpamum* pp. 247-9.

[3]*C. L. I. P.* S. No. 33

[4]S. R. Balasubramaniam, *op. cit.,* p. 247.

[5]See below p. 26

[6]S. *I. I*, Vol. VIII, No. 616; 307 of 1903.

[7]S. *I. I*, Vol. VIII No. 614, Fragment 2.

[8]336, 258 and 273 of 1903; *A. R. E* 1908, Pt. II, Paragraph 90.

[9]See below

According to the Mūvarkōvil inscription Bhūti gave a big *maṭha* with eleven villages to the Kāḷāmukha sage, Mallikārjūnā, who was a resident of Madurā, the master of the Vēdā and the pupil of Vidyārāsi and Tapōrāsi, the abode of austerity[1]. The Kāḷāmukhas also known as Mahāvratins were a fanatical Saiva sect like the Pāśupatas and the Kāpālikas. Vidyārāsi, Mallikārjuṇā's preceptor was a native of Tagaḍūr in the Salem district[2]. Bhūti's gift of a village to some learned Brāhmins is known from a record of Rājarāja I Chōḷa[3], which mentions a brahmadēya village called Vikramakēsari-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam.

Pūdi Āditta Piḍāri, Bhūti's daughter and Ariñjaya Chōla's queen built the Śiva temple at Tiruchchenduṟai now known as Chandra-śēkhara temple[4]. That this temple must have been constructed before the 23rd year of Aditya I Chōḷa (c. A. D. 893) is clear from a Rāja-kēsari record found in the same temple[5]. Bhūti Vikramakēsari's elder son, Śembiyaṉ Irukkuvēḷ Pūdi Parāntakaṉ, built the Śiva temple at Andanallūr (Trichinopoly district) and endowed it with lands and flower gardens[6]. This temple was built in the time of Parāntaka I Chōḷa. It may be noted that not only the queen of Śembiyaṉ

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[1]J. *O R*. Vol. VII, p. 10.

[2]109 of 1930-31; 309 of 1901.

[3]*C. L. I. P.* S. No. 92.

[4]Trichinopoly District, 316, 317 and 319 of 1903; *A. R. E.* 1908, Pt. II paragraph 90.

[5]320 of 1903

[6]349, 358 and 359 of 1903.

Irukkuvēḷ[1] but also his aunt, Pūdimādēvaḍigaḷ, queen of Kaṉṉaradēva, made gifts to this temple.

On the basis of some epigraphs, said to have been newly found out in the sanctum sanctorum of the Muśukuṇḍēśvara temple at Koḍumbāḷūr, Mr. S. R. Balasubramaniam says that the temple was known in the past as Tirumudukuṉṟam Uḍaiyār and that it was built in the time of Parāntaka I Chōḷa by the Koḍumbāḷūr chief Mahimālaya Irukkuvēḷ alias Vīrasōḷa Iḷaṅgōvēḷ[2]. One of the new inscriptions referring to the appointment of priests in the new temple (i. e. Tirumudukuṉṟam Udaiyār) states that they were the same as those of the temple of Tiruppūdīśvaram[3]. One of the pillars of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* of this temple contains a Rājakēsari inscription dated 21st year and mentioning a gift to the temple of Tiruppūdīśvaram[4]. It is rightly held that the *mukhamaṇḍapa* was a later addition and that the materials of a part of the temple of Tiruppūdīśvaram (i. e. Mūvarkōvil) must have been used in the construction of this *maṇḍapa* and the tank in front of the templē[5]. It may be noted in this connection that one of the shrines of the temple of Mūvarkōvil is not in existence, Mahimālaya Irukkuvēḷ, his brother, Parāntakaṉ Siṟiyavēḷāṉ alias Tirukkaṟṟaḷi Pichchaṉ, and other members of the dynasty made various gifts to many temples. In spite of their ardency in Śaivism the Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs exhibited

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[1] 348, and 357 of 1903.

[2] *op. cit.* p. 249.

[3] *ibid* p. 248. This statement proves that the temple of Tiruppūdiśvaram is different from that of Tirumudukuṉṟam Uḍaiyār.

[4] *C. L. I. P. S.* No. 33, Ins. of Aditya I.

[5] *M. P. S.*, Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 1040.

no trace of bīgōtry, and heterodox sects like Jainīsm survived in the Koḍumbāḷur region for a very long time.

Contribution to Architecture and Sculpture :

The Mūvarkōvil also known as Tiruppādiśvaram built by Bhūti Vikramakēsari, is a fine specimen of early Chōḷa architecture. The original temple was surrounded by a massive wall and contained three main shrines, fifteen subshrines, *ardhamaṇḍapas*, a common *mahamaṇḍapa*, a *nandimaṇḍapa* and a *dvajasthambam*. Of these only the two main shrines, the central and southern remain. The *vimāṇa* is of three tiers, diminishing in size and the *Śikhara* a four-sided and curviliner. "The niches on the walls and the *vimāṇams* contain sculptures of great beauty .... They resemble Pallava sculptures in form, pose and proportion of parts, but, are more highly decorated, the decoration being simple, though elegant"[1]. In short they are excellent specimens of early Chola sculpture.

"By its three central shrines of equal beauty and importance and the multiplicity of its subshrines the Mūvarkōvil reminds one of the celebrated Brāhmanical temple-complex of Parambanam in Java. Built within less than half a century of each other, and at a time when there were many opportunities of active intercourse between South India and Indonesia the two temple-complexes exhibit very interesting differencee in the application of the same idea. The Javanese temple takes up the pre-Cōla Indian idea of representing the manifestations of the same deity in the principal and subordinate shrines, and multiplies the latter

[1] *ibid*, P. 1034.

indefinitely, the Parambanam complex having for instance 156 minor shrines"[1]. As alreadly noted, Mr. S. R. Balasubramaniam and Mr. V. Venkataranga Raju do not accept Fr. Heras's view that the architectural greatness of the temple is unique[2].

The Śiva temple at Nangavaram containing a *garbhagraha* an *ardhamaṇḍapa*, and some beautiful sculptures belongs to the period of Bhūti Vikramakēsari. Dr. Arokiaswami's view that Bhūti might have built the Ivarkōvil or Aintaḷi (The temple of five) at Koḍumbāḷūr is a pure conjecture. The temple does not exist now, but remains of it are now found in a mound to the south east of Mūvarkōvil.

The Siva temple at Tiruchchenduṟai built by Bhūti's daughter. Pūdi Āditta Piḍāri, is another specimen of early Chōḷa architecture. The Śiva temple at Andanallūr built by Bhūti's son, Śembiyaṉ Irukkuvēḷ alias Pūdi Parāntakaṉ is a small stone temple consisting of a *garbhagraha*, an *ardhamaṇḍapa*, a cupola and a *mukha-maṇḍapa*, the last belonging to a later period.

The Muśukuṇḍēśvara temple at Koḍumbāḷūr originally contained a *garbhagraha*, an *ardhamaṇḍapa* and seven subshrines. Of the seven subshrines only four remain. "The walls of the main shrine are adorned with four corned Pilasters with *kalasam padmam* and *palagai* on top .... The stone cupola resembles that of the Tirukkattalai temple. .... Among the images exhibited in the

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[1]prof. Nilakanta Sastri, *op.cit.* p. 709.

[2]*J. O. R.* Vol. XII, p. 69.

Mahamaṇḍapam is a prismatie *liṅgam* of the Pallava type which probably belonged to the Aintaḷi "[1].

To sum up, the Mūvarkōvil inscription belongs to the reign of Parāntaka I Chōla. From the beginning the Koḍumbālūr chiefs maintained close relations with the Chōḷas. The early subordination of the Muttaraiyars to the Chōḷas must be viewed in the light of Chōḷa-Irukkuvēḷ alliance. The Chōḷa military efforts against the Pāṇḍyas and the Noḷamba Pallavas wera ably assisted by Bhūti Vikramakēsari and his successors. Later, in the time of Rājarāja I Chōḷa and his successors we find some Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs serving as generals in the Chōḷa army. After the reign of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa we do not hear of these chiefs. Adequate information is not available about their administration. Their services to Śaivism particularly, construction of temples and patronage of the Kāḷāmukha sect deserve our attention. Some of their temples and their sculptures are good specimens of early Chōḷa architecture and sculpture. In short, at the initial stage they did much for the consolidation and growth of the Chōḷa empire and for its cultural progress. A more detailed study of the role of these chiefs in imperial affairs is not possible in the present state of our knowledge.

[1] *M. P. S.*, Vol. II, pt. II, pp 1035 - 36.

CHAPTER-III

SECTION-1

THE PAḺUVĒṬṬARAIYARS

The Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyars, described as Kēraḷa kings in the Chōḷa records of the 10th century[1], were feudatory to the Imperial Chōḷas for over a century, ruling over a small territory round Paḻuvūr in the Trichinopoly district. Their exact relātionship to the Chēras proper is not known. Paḻuvūr also known as Maṉṉuperumpaḻuvūr[2], Avaṉigandharvapuram[3] and Pagaiviḍai - Iśvaram[4] was their head-quarters. The circumstances leading to their immigration into the Chōḷa country are shrouded in mystery. St. Śambandar who lived in the 7th century A. D., refers to the Malayāḷa (Kēraḷa) priests of the temple at Paḻuvūr[5]. It is not known if this reference

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[1] *E. I.* Vol. XV, No. 5.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol XIII, No. 98.

[3] *ibid*, Nos. 201 and 208.

[4] *ibid*, No. 235.

[5] *Dēvāram, Second Tirumṟuai*, Tiruppaḻuvūr vv 4 and 11.

is suggestive of the early settlement in the Chōḷa country of the Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyars. Whatever it may be, it is only from the time of Parāntaka I Chōḷa that we find these chieftains figuring as Chōḷa vassals.

Kaṇḍaṉ Amudaṉ:

Kaṇḍaṉ Amudaṉ is the earliest known Paḻuvēṭṭaraiya chief. An inscription of Parāntaka I Chōḷa[1] dated 12th year describes the part played by this Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar in Parāntaka's war with Rājasiṁha III Pāṇḍya. The battle was fought at Veḷḷūr about A. D. 919. The Pāṇḍya king, though assisted by the Ceylonese, was thoroughly defeated by the Chōḷa army led by Kaṇḍaṉ Amudaṉ. Veḷḷūr where the battle took place, may be identified with the village of the same name in the Tirumangalam taluk of the Madura district. The victory won by the Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar facilitated Parāntaka's occupation of the Pāṇḍya country.

The Siṉṉamaṉūr Plates of Rājasiṁha III Pāṇḍya describe his successful campaigns against the Chōḷas at Vaippūr, Koḍumbai and Nāval[2]. Probably these campaigns preceded the battle of Veḷḷūr. The role of Kaṇḍan Amudaṉ in these campaigns is not known.

Parāntaka I Chōḷa had a Paḻuvēṭṭaraiya princess by name Arumoḻinaṅgai for his wife[3] and Ariñjaya was her son. Mr. Venkatasubba Aiyar thinks that this princess might have been the daughter of

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[1]231 of 1926.

[2]*S. I. I.*, Vol III, No. 206.

[3]*S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 520; 299 of 1901; *E. I.* Vol XV, No. 5.

Kaṇḍaṉ Amudaṉ[1]. No further information is available about Kaṇḍaṉ Amudaṉ's career.

A Parakēsari inscription from Uḍaiyārkuḍi[2] dated 2nd year mentions a Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar by name Kōdaṇḍaṉ Tappildarmaṉ. It is not possible to identify the Parakēsari of the record. In case the epigraph is assigned to Parāntaka I, the Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar may be regarded as the predecessor of Kaṇḍaṉ Amudaṉ.

Aḍigaḷ Maṟavaṉ Kaṇḍaṉār : (c. A. D. 967 - c. 985)

The next known Paḻuvēṭṭaraiya chief is Aḍigaḷ Maṟavaṉ Kaṇḍaṉār. He was a vassal of both Sundara Chōḷa and Uttama Chōḷa[3] It is likely that this chief was the son and successor of Kaṇḍaṉ Amudaṉ[4]. The political career of this Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar is obscure, and some information is available about his administration.

Kaṇḍaṉ Maṟavaṉ and others :

The epigraphs of Uttama Chōḷa mention many Paḻuvēṭṭaraiya chiefs. Maṟavaṉ Kaṇḍaṉ, noted above, continued to be a Chōḷa vassal till the 15th year of Uttama[5]. Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇḍaṉ Maṟavaṉ

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[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. XIII, p. V, paragra h 12.
[2] *S. I I.*, Vol. XIX; 609 of 1920.
[3] *S. I. I.* Vol. XIII, Nos. 208, 215, 229, 236, 344; Vol XIX, Nos. 238, 273 and 384; Vol. V, Nos. 679 and 682.
[4] *S. I. I.* Vol. XIII, Intro. p. VI.
[5] *S. I. I.* Vol. XIX, No. 384.

was a feudatory of both Uttama Chōḷa and Rājarāja I[1]. He must be doubtless different from Maṟavaṉ Kaṇḍaṉ mentioned above. Probably he is identical with Sundarasōḷa mentioned in some Parakēsari records assignable to Uttama[2]. Another Paḻuvēṭṭaraiya vassal of Uttama Chōḷa was Kaṇḍaṉ Satrubhayaṅkaraṉār, brother of Kaṇḍaṉ Sundarasōḷaṉ[3]. He may be identified with Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Vikramādityar, referred to in the records of Uttama Chōḷa[4]. The epigraphs of these chiefs do not throw any light on their political or military activities. As his name suggests, Satrubhayaṅkarāṉār might have participated in the wars of Sundara Chōḷa. The matrimonial alliances of the Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyars must have increased their power and prestige. Pañchavaṉ Mādēvi, Rājarāja I's queen, was probably the daughter of Kaṇḍaṉ Maṟavaṉ. Another Paḻuvēṭṭaraiya princess married a Chēra prince[5]. Yet another princess of this dynasty married an Irukkuvēḷ chief[6].

Kaṇḍaṉ Maṟavaṉ's rule must have come to an end sometime after the 13th year and before the 22nd year of Rājarāja I. From the latter date another Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar by name Kumaraṉ Maṟavaṉ figures as a Chōḷa feudatory.

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[1]*S. I. I.* Vol. V, Nos. 681 and 667; Vol. XIII, No. 20 ; Vol. XIX, Nos. 403; 106 of 1895; 356, 382 and 395 of 1924.
[2]592 of 1920; 381 of 1924.
[3]*S. I. I.*, Vol. XIX, No. 305; 592 of 1920.
[4]*S. I. I.*, Vol XIX No. 212; 237 of 1926.
[5]*S. I. I.*, Vol XIX No. 153; 364 of 1924.
[6]110 of 1895 *S. I. I.* Vol. V, No. 671.

Kumaraṉ Maṟavaṉ: (c. A. D. 1007 - c. 1020)

Kumaraṉ Maṟavaṉ was very probably the son and successor of Kaṇḍaṉ Maṟavaṉ[1]. He figures in the records of Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I[2]. He may be identified with the Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar who was the father-in-law of a certain Muññai Vallavaraiyar[3]. No information is available about his political or military career.

The subsequent history of the Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyars is unknown except a stray reference to a later chief. An inscription from Tanjore district dated 22nd year of Tribhuvaṉachakravartin Rājarāja (II or III), mentions a certain Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar of Vāṇavappāḍi[4]. Vāṇavappāḍi may be identified with Vāṇakōppāḍi in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. Further details of this Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar are not available.

Administration :

Inscriptions of the Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyars throw some interesting light on their administration. Just as the contemporary Chōḷa emperors were called Uḍaiyārs, the Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyars were known as Dēvaṉārs[5]. That the Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyars had their own army is clear from an inscription of Rājarāja I Chōḷa[6]. The Paḻuvēṭṭaraiya

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. XIII, *Intro.* to No. 235.

[2] 355 and 360 of 1924; 117 of 1928-29; *S. I. I.*, Vol XIX, No. 146.

[3] 39 of 1918.

[4] 90 of 1911.

[5] *S. I. I.*, Vol. XIII, No. 235.

[6] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 683; 122 of 1895.

officials were of two cadres-*Perundaram* and *Sirudaram*[1], and the gradation was something like Gazetted and Non-Gazetted officers. In fiscal matters the Paluvēṭṭaraiya rulers seem to have had substantial freedom to follow any policy. The epigraphs of Aḍigaḷ Maṟavaṉ Kaṇḍaṉ state that the rate of taxation adopted by him in the Paḻuvūr area was the same as that of Nandipuram i. e. Paḻayāṟai, the early alternate capital of the Later Chōḷas[2].

Religion:

The Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyars were ardent followers of Śaivism and their records mention various gifts to many temples particularly to those of Mēlappaḻuvūr and Kīḻappaḻuvūr. The name Maṟavaṉēśvaram originally borne by the temple of Paśupatīśvaram at Kiḻappaḻuvūr makes it certain that it must have been built by and named after a Paḻuvēṭṭaraiya chief probably Aḍigaḷ Maṟavaṉ Kaṇḍaṉ[3]. His successor, Kaṇḍaṉ Maṟavaṉ, constructed the temple of Tiruttōṟṟa-muḍaiyār (identical with the Sundarēśvara temple) at Mēlappaḻuvūr[4].

To conclude, the limited evidence at our disposal about the Paḻuvēṭṭariyars, does not help us to give any detailed account of their role in Chōḷa imperial affairs. Their subordination must have been of substantial help to the Chōḷas in stabilizing and extending their rule. Kaṇḍaṉ Amudaṉ played decisive part in the Chōḷa victory over the Pāṇḍyas in the time of Parāntaka I. No details are available about

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[1] *S. I. I* Vol. V, Nos, 667, 676 and 677.
[2] *S. I. I.* Vol. XIII, Nos. 208, 215 and 344.
[3] *A. R. E.*, 1926, Pt II, p. 97.
[4] *S. I. I.*, Vol. XIII, No. 98

the role of Kaṇḍaṉ Amudaṉ's successors in the later wars of the Chōḻas. The Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyars seem to have enjoyed some measure of freedom in the administration of their territory. Their matrimonial alliances with their imperial masters must have rendered them very influential in imperial affairs. Their support to Śaivism is clear from their epigraphs.

SECTION - 2

THE MILĀḌUḌAIYĀRS

The Milāḍuḍaiyārs were the chieftains of Milāḍu also called Malāḍu (a contraction of Malaināḍu) comprising the Tirukkōyilūr region of the South Arcot district. They were prominent in the earlier period of the Imperial Chōḻas, and the rise of the Malaiyamāṉs and the Kāḍavarāyas threw them into shade. Like the Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyars and the Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs, the Miḷāḍu chiefs had matrimonial alliances with the imperial dynasty.

The earliest known Milāḍuḍaiyār, Siddhavaḍavaṉ Gamuṇḍadēvaṉ, figures in a 11th year Parakēsari epigraph ascribable to Parāntaka I Chōḻa[1]. He is probably identical with the Milāḍuḍaiyār referred to in another record of the same emperor dated 28th year[2]. No further details of his career are available.

Towards the end of Parāntaka I Chōḻa's reign, the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor, Krishṇa III invaded the Chōḻa empire and inflicted

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[1] 87 of 1930 - 31; *S. I. I.*, Vol XIX, No 293.

[2] 279 of 1902.

a crushing defeat on the Chōḷa army at Takkōlam in A. D. 949. After this Chōla defeat, the Milāḍu chiefs seem to have thrown in their lot with the Rāshṭrakūṭas. A record of Krishṇa III from Tirunāmanallūr, S. Arcot Dt., dated 17th year mentions his Milāḍu feudatory by name Narasiṁhavarmaṉ surnamed Saktinātha and Siddhavaḍava[1]. The existence of a number of Rāshṭrakūṭa inscriptions, some of them dated 28th and 30th years of Krishṇa III[2], suggests that the Milāḍu chiefs continued their subordination to the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor. From another Rāshṭrakūṭa record the date of which is lost, we know that the Vaidumba ruler, Srī Vikramādıtya, ruled Malāḍu along with other territories[3].

The reign of Sundara Chōḷa saw the gradual re-establishment of Chōḷa authority in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam[4], and in consequence, the Milāḍu chiefs became again subordinate to the Chōḷas. A Parakēsari epigraph from the Tanjore district dated 11th year, mentions a gift made by the queen of the Milāḍu chief, Siddhavaḍattaḍigaḷ[5]. The Parakēsari of this record is rightly identified with Uttama Chōḷa[6] No other information is available about this Milāḍuḍaiyār. Vikramasōḷa Milāḍuḍaiyāṉ, who figures in an epigraph of Uttama Chōḷa[7] and in the early inscriptions of Rājarāja I Chōḷa[8], appears to

[1]362 of 1902

[2]364 and 232 of 1902.

[3]16 of 1905.

[4]*The Cōḷas*, p. 156.

[5]193 of 1930-31; *S. I. I.* Vol. XIX No. 295.

[6]*A. R. E.* 1930-31, pt. II, p. 41.

[7]*S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 868; 240 of 1902.

[8]*S. I. I.*, Vol. XIII, No. 104; 7 of 1905; *S. I. I.* Vol. XIII, No. 63; 29 of 1922.

have been an important feudatory[1]. He is probably identical with the Siddhavaḍavaṉ, referred to in a Rājakēsari record from Siddhaliṅgamaḍam ascribable to Rājarāja I Chōḷa[2]. Another Rājakēsari record[3] describes the full name of the chieftain: Malāḍuḍaiyāṉ Rāmaṉ Siddhavaḍavaṉ Vikramasōḷa Milāḍuḍaiyāṉ. Obviously Siddhavaḍavaṉ is a surname assumed by many chiefs of Milāḍu. This Milāḍu ruler had a Pāṇḍya princess for his queen[4]. Her name, Sāmi Abbai suggests that she must be an Uchchaṅgi princess[5]. It is probable that Siddhavaḍavaṉ Sūṭṭiyār, one of the queens of Uttama Chōḷa, was the daughter of this Milāḍu Chief[6]. It is not known how far the Milāḍu chiefs were helpful in the Chōḷa recovery of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam in the reign of Uttama Chōḷa.

Rājēndra I Chōḷa, the successor of Rājarāja I, had many Milāḍu vassals. Arumoḻidēva Milāḍuḍaiyār alias Paṭṭaḷagaṉ Rāmaṉ, his elder son, Rājēndrasōḷa Milāḍuḍaiyāṉ alias Milāḍuḍaiyāṉ Rāmaṉ Mummudisōḻaṉ[7] and younger son, Mudikoṇḍasōḷa Milāḍuḍaiyāṉ alias Rāmaṉ Maṟavadigaḷ[8], were feudatory to Rājēndra I Chōḷa. Another Milāḍu vassal of the same emperor was Pirāntakaṉ Yādava Bhīmaṉ alias Uttamasōḷa Malāḍuḍaiyāṉ also known as Madurāntaka[9].

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[1] *The Cōḷas*, p. 161.
[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. XIII, No. 41; 37a of 1909.
[3] *S. I. I.* Vol. XIII, No. 63; 29 of 1922.
[4] *S. I. I.* Vol. XIII, No. 104.
[5] *The Cōḷas*, p. 167.
[6] *S. I. I.*, Vol. XIII, No. 39.
[7] 13 of 1905; 260 of 1902; *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 888.
[8] *ibid*; 10 of 1905
[9] 133 of 1906; 20 of 1905; 587 of 1908; *S. I. I.* Vol. VII No. 891 263 of 1902.

He is known to have lost his life in the war with the W. Chāḷukyas in Vēṅgi[1]. Yet another Milāḍu vassal of Rājēndra I Chōḷa was Gaṅgaikoṇḍasōḻa Milāḍuḍaiyāṉ[2]. It is not known if he is identical with any of the chiefs mentioned above; nor do we know the service, military or administrative, of these rulers to the empire.

We have definite evidence that the Milāḍu chiefs continued their subordination to the Chōḷas after Rājēndra I. An inscription from the South Arcot district of Rājēndra II dated 6th year mentions the building operations of a chief named Raṇakēsari Rāmaṉ alias Narasiṁhavarmaṉ, the lord of Milāḍu (2000) of the Bhargava lineage; further, the record refers to Rājēndra II Chōḷa's accompanying his elder brother, Rājādhirāja I, in the conquest of Raṭṭapāḍi, his setting up a pillar of victory at Kollāpuram and his victory over Āhavamalla at Kōppam[3]. The title of the Milāḍu chief, Raṇakēsari and the context in which the campaign against W. Chāḷukyas is mentioned in the record detailing his building operations, suggests that he too must have participated in the fight with success[4].

Another epigraph, probably of the same emperor[5], mentions another Milādu chief by name Rājamahēndraṉ Rājēndrasōḻaṉ. He seems to be different from the one mentioned above.

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[1] T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, *op.cit.*, Vol I, p. 191.

[2] 291 of 1904

[3] 123 of 1900; *T. L. I. M. P.* - S. Arcot, No. 851.

[4] For further details of the war, see, T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, *op. cit.*, Vol. I pp. 118 and 119.

[5] *S. I. I.* Vol XIX, Nos. 94; 374 of 1909; the Government Epigraphist ascribes the record to Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa.

After this, we hear of the Milāḍu chiefs again in the time of Vikrama Chōḷa. A Parakēsari epigraph from Kīḷūr. (S. Arcot dt)., probably of Vikrama Chōḷa, mentions a certain Akaḷaṅgaṉ Malaiyarādittaṉ alias Śembiyaṉ Milāḍuḍaiyar[1]. He was also a vassal of Kulōttuṅga II, the successor of Vikrama. Another epigraph which is ascribed to Vikrama[2], mentions a Milāḍu chief by name Vaḍavaṉ Rājēndraṉ. His relationship to the preceding chief is not known; nor do we know anything about the political or military career of this chief.

The next known Milāḍu chief, Narasiṁhaṉ Kariyaperumāḷ Periyanāyaṉ[3], belongs to the period of Rājarāja II. He was the grandson of Raṇakēsari Rāmaṉ alias Narasiṁhavarmaṉ, a vassal of Rājēndra II[4]. No other information is available about his career. After the time of Rājarāja II Chōḷa, we do not hear of these chiefs.

Religion :

The Milāḍuḍaiyārs patronised all sects and their inscriptions record their benefactions to the Śiva temples of Tiruppūnduritti, Kīḷūr, Tirunāmanallūr, Tiruchchātturai, Siddhaliṅgamaḍam, Tiruvāmāttūr, Elavānāsūr, Tiruppattūr, Kāḷahasti and Vēdāranyam[5].

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[1] 271 of 1902; *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII No. 900.

[2] 420 of 1909; *S. I. I* Vol. XIX, No. 250.

[3] 119 of 1900.

[4] *ante.* p. 40.

[5] *S. I. I.* Vol. XIX, No. 293; 279 of 1902; *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 868; Vol. XIII No. 104, Vol. VII No. 888; 10 and 20 of 1905; 271 and 362 of 1902; *S. I. I.* Vol. XIX, No. 295; Vol. XIII, Nos. 41 and 63; 133 of 1906; 587 of 1908; 291 and 467 of 1904.

Raṇakēsari Rāmaṉ Narasiṁhavarmaṉ, a Milāḍu vassal of Rājēndrā II Chōḷa, rebuilt the central shrine of the Tiruvikramaperumāḷ temple at Tirukkōyilūr, S. Arcot Dt.[1]. A Rājakēsari record from Tanjore district[2] mentioning *Milāḍuḍaiyārpaḷḷi* (paḷḷi means a Jain monastery) suggests that the Miḷāḍu chiefs might have patronised Jainism as well.

In conclusion it may be noted that the history of the Milāḍuḍaiyārs like that of the Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyars, is meagre. The Milāḍu chiefs maintained close relations with the Chōḷas. After the battle of Takkōlam they shifted their loyalty to the Rāshṭrakuṭas. Again, they became feudatory to the Chōḷas in the reign of Sundara Chōḷa, and assisted their imperial masters in the wars against the W. Chāḷukyas. Their contribution to religion and culture is not much.

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[1] 123 of 1900; *E. I.* Vol. VII, pp. 145-6.
[2] *S. I. I.* Vol. III, pt. III, No. 91.

CHAPTER - IV

THE BĀṆAS

The Bāṇas were an ancient minor dynasty who paid their allegiance in succession to the Sātavāhanas, the Pallavas, the W. Chāḷukyas, the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the Chōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas. Seldom they were independent. Their long but chequered history constitutes the most interesting dynastic drift in South Indian history. They held sway in different parts of South India at different times. So, the confines of their territory varied from time to time. They had ruled over the Nandi hill area, the Parivīpura region in the Anantapur district, Vadugavaḷimēṟku Perumbāṇappāḍi, or Vāṇakōppāḍi, Magadaimaṇḍalam and the Pāṇḍya country[1].

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[1]For the early history of the Bāṇas, *vide* Dr. T. V. Mahalingam's article in J. *I H* Vol. XXIX, 1951. and M. S. Govindasamy, *op. cit.* Chap. I.

Inscriptions of the Bāṇas belonging to the period after the battle of Srīpuṟambiyam, dated in Śaka era and mentioning no Pallava overlord, testify to their independence[1]. They continued to be so, when Āditya I Chōḷa conquered Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam killing Aparājita in a battle. The silence of the Chōḷa records on the Bāṇas shows that they kept aloof at this time. This attitude of the Bāṇas must have facilitated the Chōḷa conquest of the Pallava empire. Unusually the Bāṇas continued this policy of isolation for some more time. There is no evidence of Bāṇa subordination to Āditya I Chōḷa.

According to Dr. Altekar, the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Krishna II (c. A. D. 879-912) invaded the Chōḷa empire after Parāntaka I Chōḷa's accession[2]. This is confirmed by an inscription from Kanyākumari which states that the Chōḷa king assumed the title of Vīra Chōḷa in consequence of his victory over Krishṇa II[3]. The Rāshṭrakūṭa enmity to the Chōḷa king was due to the fact that Parāntaka I's brother, Kaṇṇaradēva who was the son of a Rāshṭrakūṭa princess, did not gain the Chōḷa throne. We do not know when and where exactly the battle was fought. But we know for certain that the battle turned against the Rāshṭrakūṭas and that Parāntaka I was safe on the Chōḷa throne. As to the part played by the Bāṇas in this battle, no direct evidence is available. Their territory was, no doubt, in a disturbed state[4]. As their later history suggests, they might in all probability have

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[1] *S.I.I.* Vol. III, No. 44; *E I.* Vol. XI, p 227.

[2] *The Rāshṭakūṭas and their times* p. 97, Fn 27.

[3] *T. A. S.* Vol. III, No. 34, v. 58.

[4] *J. I. H.* Vol XXIX, p. 278.

supported the Rāshtrakutas. But it is doubtful if the Bāṇa king Vijayāditya II lost his life in this war[1].

Prof. K.A.Nilakanta Sastri identifies this battle with Parāntaka I Chōḷa's war with the Bāṇas at Vallāla[2]. But a careful study of the Shōlinghūr inscription of Parāntaka I[3] and the Udayēndiram inscription of Pṛithivīpati II[4] does not warrant such a view. The two records make no mention of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king or his invasion. Some time after the war with the Rāshṭrakūṭas, Parāntaka I dislodged the Bāṇas from their territory, and in this war he must have been ably seconded by his W. Gaṅga feudatory, Pṛithivīpati II[5]. The battle was fought at Vallāla, the modern Tiruvallam in the N Arcot district. As a result of this battle Pṛithivīpati II gained the Bāṇa territory besides the titles of Sembiyan Māvalivāṇarāyaṉ[6], Hastimalla and Vīrasōḷa[7]. Probably after this war, the Bāṇas threw in their lot with the Rāshṭrakūṭas and later contributed to the disastrous Chōḷa defeat at Takkōlam in A. D. 949. As to the Bāṇa kings defeated by Parāntaka I, the Udayēndiram plates cited above, mention only their number viz., two and not their names. Vijayāditya II and his son Vikramāditya II appear to have been the

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[1] *contra* Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, *op. cit.* p. 278.

[2] *The Cōlas*, P. 126.

[3] *E. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 32.

[4] S. *I. I.*, Vol. II, No. 76.

[5] *ibid.*

[6] *ibid*

[7] *E. I.* Vol. IV No. 32.

adversaries of the Chōḷa king[1]. As regards the date of the battle, since Pṛithivīpati II bore the title of Māvalivāṇarāyaṇ as early as the sixth year of Parāntaka I, it must have happened before A. D. 913[2].

After this, Parāntaka I is known to have invaded the Rāshṭrakūṭa country about A. D. 940 with a view to gaining the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne for his son-in-law, Gōvinda III[3]. But the attempt must have failed. Krishṇa III continued in power undisturbed and later wrecked vengeance on the Chōḷa king. Even several years before the famous battle of Takkōlam (A. D. 949) the Rāshṭrakūṭa military pressure on the chōḷa empire increased, necessitating the maintenance of an army under the Chōla crown prince, Rājāditya, in the northern part of Chōḷa empire. Unfortunately for the Chōḷas, Pṛithivīpati II passed away, and his son, Vikkiaṇṇaṇ predeceased him. Once more the entire Western Gaṅga kingdom came under a single king. Būtuga II, the then Gaṅga king, was closely related to Rāshṭrakūṭa Krishṇa III, and assisted the latter in his invasion of the Chōḷa empire. The Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas must have stood by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king. The battle of Takkōlam (A. D. 949) turned against the Chōḷas resulting in the Rāshṭrakūṭa occupation of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and the temporary eclipse of the Chōḷa power. The W. Gaṅga ruler played a decisive role in this war causing the death of the Chōḷa crown prince, Rājāditya. As to the role of the Bāṇas, we know from the Udayēndiram plates of Bāṇa

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[1] T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 44; *contra.*, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 127 and Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, *op. cit.* p. 280.

[2] T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, *op. cit.*, Vol I. pp. 44 and 45.

[3] *ibid* p. 49; *E. I.* Vol. XXVI, p. 232.

Vikramāditya III[1] that the Bāṇa ruler was a 'dear friend of Krishṇaraja'. So he must have assisted the Rāshṭrakūṭas. The re-establishment of Bāṇa sway in Vāṇakōppādi, as attested by the same record, strengthens this view. It is possible that the Bāṇas continued under Rāshṭrakūṭa hegemony for some more time.

Long, long after this war, we again hear of the Bāṇas in the time of Sundara Chōḷa. By that time the Chōḷas regained their hold on Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, and in this recovery they must have been assisted by the Bāṇas. This shift in Bāṇa policy towards the Chōlas was brought about by the gradual weakening of the Rāshṭrakūṭa ascendancy in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and by the matrimonial alliance between the Chōḷas and the Bāṇas. A Rājakēsari inscription dated 9th year and assignable to Sundara Chōḷa, records an endowment made by Ariñjigaipirāṭṭiyār who was the daughter of Arikulakēsari and the queen of the Bāṇa king[2]. Arikulakēsari is undoubtedly Ariñjaya, the father of Sundara Chōḷa. Dr. T. V. Mahalingam identifies this Bāṇa king with Vijayabāhu Vikramāditya[3]. But it is very unlikely. Whatever it may be, the inscription shows the close connections between the two dynasties. The Bāṇa chief called Amarasundaradēva is stated in the inscription to have lost his life after distinguishing himself in the Chōḷa campaign in Ceylon[4]. Obviously like Parāntakaṉ Siṟiyavēḷāṉ, this Bāṇa chief fought for the Chōlas and lost his life in Ceylon. Unfortunately, the inscription is damaged and many interesting details lost.

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[1] *E. I.* Vol. III, p. 74, v. 15.

[2] 215 of 1911 and *S. I. I.* Vol. XIII No. 197.

[3] *op. cit.* p. 284.

[4] *S. I. I.* Vol. XIII, No. 197.

Rājarāja Vāṇakōvaraiyar and his successors:

After this we hear of the Bāṇa chiefs in the time of Rājarāja I Chōḷa. A certain Maṟavaṉ Narasiṁhavarmaṉ alias Rājarāja Vāṇakōvaraiyar figures as a subordinate of Rājarāja I[1] in the 26th regnal year. Probably the same chief is mentioned in an earlier inscription[2]. As his title, Maṟavaṉ, suggests, he may have been a military figure in those days. But his role in the military campaigns of Rājarāja I is not known. Nor is his relationship to the earlier Bāṇa chiefs clear. In Rājarāja I's time the Bāṇa territory was known as Perumbāṇappāḍi[3].

Inscriptions of Rājēndra I mention a certain Sēnāpati Vāṇarājar[4] alias Šembiyaṉ Mahāvali Vāṇarāyar. Most probably he is identical with Rājēndrasōḷa Māvalivāṇarāya, mentioned in an inscription of Rājādhirāja I[5]. Further, he must be the son of Maṟavaṉ Narasiṁhavarmaṉ alias Rājarāja Vāṇakōvaraiyar. As Chōla general, he must have played an important part in the Chōḷa military affairs for a long time. But unfortunately no specifc details of his martial achievements are available. This Bāṇa chief was very much attached to Rājēndra I Chōḷa. It was for the well-being of his master that the Sēnāpati made the Tribhuvaṇai[6] grant. In his time the Bāṇa territory was called Madurāntakavaḷanāḍu[7].

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[1]86 of 1906.

[2]382 of *1937-38*.

[3]*172* of *1921*.

[4]*180* of 1919.

[5]*176* of 1919.

[6]*ibid*.

[7]82 of *1906*

The next Bāṇa chief Sēnāpati Arumoḻi Vikramasōḻaṉ alias Rājādhirāja Mahābalivāṇarāyar,[1] was in all probability the son of Sēnāpati Rājēndrasōḻa Vāṇakōvaraiyar. He must be identical with Vijayarājēndra Vāṇakōvaraiyar[2]. As in the previous case, we know only the military status of the chief and not any details of his military career. It is, however, likely that he assisted his master in the war with the Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi.

After this, till we come to the reign of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa, we hear of no Bāṇa chiefs save one Vīraparumar, mentioned in an inscription dated 27th year of Karikāla[3]. According to the inscription the chief made the grant in former times of Raṇabhīramaṅgalam. Karikāla of this record must be identified, not with Āditya II Chōḷa, the elder brother of Rājarāja I, as Prof. T. V. Mahalingam thinks[4], but with Kulōttuṅga I Chōla who had the title[5]. As the inscription shows, the Bāṇa chief must be assigned to a period prior to that of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa. No other details of his career are known to us.

Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ Suttamallaṉ Uttamasōḻaṉ and his son:

The next known Baṇa chieftain is Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ Śuttamallaṉ Uttamasōḻaṉ alias Ilaṅgēśvaraṉ. He figures prominently

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[1]20 of 1940-41; 259 of 1955-56.

[2]265 of 1955-56

[3]109 of 1906.

[4]J. I H., Vol. 29, p. 291.

[5]*vide*, Palanivela Pillai (ed), *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, p. 254, v. 594.

in the reign of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḻa from the 15th regnal year[1]. He is identical with Śuttamallaṉ Sōḻakulasundaraṉ alias Gaṅgaikoṇḍasōḻa Vāṇakōvaraiyar[2], referred to in a record from Kīḻappaḻuvūr. Again, he may be identified with Vāṇādhirāja, the minister of Jeyadhara i. e. Kulōttuṅga I Chōḻa, mentioned in an incomplete inscription from Srīraṅgam[3]. It is not known for certain if this Ilaṅgēśvaraṉ is the same as Paḷḷi Seṅgēṇi Sāttaṉ Sōḻaṉ alias Sēnāpati Vāṇarājar, also figuring in an inscription of the same Chōḻa king[4]. Ilaṅgēśvaraṉ was very much devoted to the Chōḻa king. It was for the welfare of his master that he built a Śiva temple at Mēlappaḻuvūr (Trichy dt.).

According to the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* of Jayaṅkoṇḍār, a Bāṇa chief distinguished himself in Kulōttuṅga I's second expedition to Kaliṅga[5]. Sri T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar identifies this Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ with Śuttamallaṉ Uttamasōḻaṉ alias Ilaṅgēśvaraṉ[6]. But it is doubtful if this Bāṇa chief was alive at the time of the second Kaliṅga war (A. D 1112). As far as available evidence is concerned Ilaṅgēśvaraṉ does not figure in Kulōttunga's inscriptions after the 32nd regnal year i, e. A. D. 1102. Further, his successor Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ Śuttamallaṉ Muḍikoṇḍāṉ had become prominent by

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[1] 389, 392, 393 and 396 of 924.

[2] 240 of 1926.

[3] 56 of 1938-39; Jeyadhara is one of the titles of Kulōttuṅga I.

[4] 138 of 1896.

[5] 'வாசி கொண்டு அரசர் வாரணம் கவர
வாணகோவரையன் வாள் முகத்
தூசி கொண்டு முடி கொண்ட சோழன் ஒரு
சூழி வேழம் மிசைகொள்ளவே'

[6] *op. cit.*, Vol. II p. 62.

A. D. 1112[1]. Therefore, the Vāṇkōvaraiyan who took part in Kulōttuṅga's second expedition must be the successor of Ilaṅgēśvaraṉ[1]. It may be noted here that the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* deals with Kulōttuṅga's second Kaliṅga war.

Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ Śuttamallaṉ Muḍikoṇḍāṉ[3], also known as Virudarājabhayaṅkara Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ[4], was another Bāṇa feudatory of Kulōttuṅga I. He must be the son of Śuttamallaṉ Uttamasōḻaṉ alias Ilaṅgēśvaraṉ, noted above. It is very likely that he is identical with Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Mahābali Bāṇarāja, mentioned in an inscription of Vikrama Chōḷa (son of Kulōttuṅga I) from Tiruvārūr[5]. As noted above, this chieftain must have played a prominent part in Kulōttuṅga's second expedition to Kaliṅga. No other details of his martial career are known to us. He and his wife figure as donees in many records of the time[6]. Vāṇakōppāḍi was called Rājēndravaḷanāḍu in Kulōttuṅga I's time[7].

The next known Bāṇa chief is Vīranārāyaṇa Māvalivāṇarāyar, a feudatory of Vikrama Chōḷa[8]. His relationship to Śuttamallaṉ Muḍikoṇḍāṉ is not clear. In fact, from the time of Vikrama Chōḷa

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[1]184 of 1934-35

[2]Verse 365 of *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* confirms the identification.

[3]184 of 1934-35.

[4]*S. I. I.* Vol. V, No. 673; 112 of 1895.

[5]*S. I. I.* Vol. V, No. 456; 164 of 1894.

[6]e. g. 62 of 1926; 229 of 1928-29; 184 and 185 of 1934-35; *S.I.I.* Vol. V, No. 673.

[7]68 of 1906

[8]365 of 1927-28.

So, ultimately he and his Chēra ally surrendered to Kulōttuṅga III and were magnanimously treated by him. Some years later, Vikrama Pāṇḍya passed away and was followed by his son Saḍayavarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara. Like many of his predecessors, he also turned against the Chōḷa king. Fed up thus with the repeated ingratitude and treachery of the Pāṇḍya rulers Kulōttuṅga III invaded Madura destroyed the palace, crowned himself as Pāṇḍya ruler and changed the names of the Pāṇḍya country and its capital. Subsequently the Pāṇḍya king surrendered to Kulōttuṅga III and regained the kingdom.

Now, let us see the part played by this Bāṇa ruler in these wars. A Sanskrit inscriptions from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai states: 'O king of the Bāṇas! previously five and now one (thus six) crowns did you capture in battle from the Pāṇḍya who was intolerant of the pride of the kind of the dēvas; of these one, you gave away to the Chōḷa king and now the rest have been offered to the great hill-shrine of Aruṇāchala; what is there to be given by you to the supplicant ?'[1]. It is not known whether this inscription contains any reference to Rājādhirāja II's war with the Pāṇḍyas. No inscription of that Chōḷa refers to this Bāṇa ruler It is therefore, probable that the inscription alludes to Kulōttuṅga III's campaigns. Another inscription in Tamil verse from the same place[2], contains some more details of this Bāṇa's achievements. particularly in the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya struggle The first verse says in the conventional manner that when the Bāṇa ruler got angry, the Pāṇḍya king was driven out of his kingdom. Another verse mentions the Bāṇa chief's threat that unless the Pāṇḍya ruler handed over the

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[1] 544 of 1902; *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII No. 135.

[2] *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII No. 97; 507 of 1902.

statues received from the Ceylonese he would lose his head. Yet another verse refers to the deputation by the Chōḷa king of this Bāṇa to the Pāṇḍya for collecting the tribute, and the fears and anxiety of the Pāṇḍya at the very mention of the name of the Bāṇa. The same verse mentions the fierce fighting at Srī Parāntakaṉ and Veṇmaṇi[1].

As the inscription contains references to Kulōttuṅga III's war with Koṅgu, Kaliṅga and the Vaḍugar (the Northerners) and as another inscriptions from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai[2] specifically refers to the Bāṇa chief's destruction of Madura, we may conclude that Magadaipperumāḷ assisted Kulōttuṅga III in all his Pāṇḍya wars including the last one in which he destroyed Madura and crowned himself there[3].

From the verses of the same inscription from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai[4], we know that this Bāṇa chieftain must have assisted Kulōttuṅga III in other campaigns. One of the verses describes the Bāṇa ruler as "*Kāñchiyum Vañjiyum Koṇḍa Moydār Magadaṉ*[5]". Vañji is

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[1] *ibid.*

[2] *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 134.

[3] *contra*, Pandit Somasundara Desigar, *Q. J. M. S.* Vol. XXIX, p. 426. Mr. Desigar referring to an inscription from Kudumiyāmalai states that the last Pāṇḍya defeated by the Bāṇa chief was Vira Māṟaṉ. But Saḍaiyāvarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara, son of Vikrama Pāṇḍya was the last Pāṇḍya defeated by this Bāṇa. The destruction of Madura happened in Kulōttunga's last Pāṇḍya war and that is referred to in an inscription from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai of this Bāṇa *vide*, *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 134.

[4] *S. I. I.* Vol: VIII, No. 97.

[5] 'காஞ்சியும் வஞ்சியும் கொண்ட மொய்தார் மகதன்'

modern Karūr in the Trichinopoly district. It was also known as Muḍivaḷaṅgusōḷapuram in Kulōttuṅga III's time[1]. It was the capital of the Koṅgu Chōḷas. For a long time they were feudatory to the Imperial Chōḷas. Later they seem to have sided with the Pāṇḍyas. Kulōttuṅga III, therefore, invaded Koṅgu sometime before A. D. *1194* seized its capital and crowned himself there. After that, the defeated ruler was allowed to rule over Koṅgu subject to Chōḷa paramountcy. The Bāṇa chieftain must have played a leading part in this campaign.

As regards his conquest of Kāñchi, it must have happened about A. D. *1196*[2]. Kulōttuṅga III seems to have lost his hold on the Kāñchi region due to the defiance of the Telugu Chōḷa Nallasiddhaṇadēva of Mahārājapādi (Cuddapah dt)[3]. Kulōttuṅga III, therefore, undertook an expedition to Kāñchi. The Bāṇa chieftain must have assisted his master in this campaign and reconquered Kāñchi. Kulōttuṅga III entered Kāñchi with his anger abated[4].

Another verse of the same inscription describes the Bāṇa as *Koṅgum Kaliṅgamum Koṇḍa*[5]. The first is obviously a reference to Kulōttuṅga III's conquest of Koṅgu noted above. The second refers to Kulōttuṅga III's expedition to Kaliṅga. Two other verses of the same inscription describe the Bāṇa ruler's sanguinary but successful

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[1]T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 152; Also *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 23.

[2]K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas* p. 390.

[3]*ibid.*

[4]*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 88.

[5]'கொங்கும் கலிங்கமும் கொண்ட' - one who conquered Koṅgu and *Kaliṅga.*

war with the Vaḍugas[1] or the Northerners. Who were the Vaḍugas referred to in the inscription? An inscription from Kuḍumiyāmalai[2] dated 34th year of Kulōttuṅga III states that that Chōḷa defeated the Vaḍugas. conquered Vēṅgi and entered Uṟaṅgai. Obviously the Bāṇa chief must have participated in Kulōttuṅga III's war in the Telugu country. It is extreme academic orthodoxy to regard Kulōttuṅga III's expedition as a mere fabrication[3]. The details of the inscription are such that the event cannot be easily discarded as mere conventional eulogy. The Vaḍugas were in all probability the Kākatīyas[4] and Uṟaṅgai, Warangal, their capital. In the light of the struggle between the Yādavas and Kākatīyas, the Chōḷas must have found it easier to curb the growing power of the latter[5]. The Bāṇa chieftain's bloody war with Vaṅgārathoṅgaṉ (or Siṅgaṉ) resulting in the latter's death is prominently mentioned in another verse of the same inscription[6]. Vaṅgārathaṅgaṉ identified with Vaṅgāra Muttaraiyar of Seṅguṉṟa-kōṭṭam in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam[7]. He may be the same as Kaḍandai Sēndaṉ Ādittaṉ alias Vaṅgāra Muttaraiyan or his soṉ Ādittaṉ Maṇḍali[8]. The cause of the conflict is not known but it may have been over some dispute regarding their respective jurisdiction[9].

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[1] *op. cit.*, there are three references.

[2] *C. L. I. P. S.* No. *166*.

[3] *contra*, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. *391*.

[4] T. V. Mahalingam, J. *I. H.* Vol., XXIX, p. *294* and Pandit Somasundara Desigar, *Q.* J. *M. S.*, Vol. XXIX, p. *427*.

[5] T. V. Mahalingam, *op. cit.*, p *295*.

[6] *S. I. I.* Vol VIII, No. *97*.

[7] Pandit Somasundara Desigar, *Q.* J. *M. S.* Vol. XXIX, pp. *426* and *427*.

[8] *ibid.*

[9] *ibid.*

Next, the Bāṇa chief is said to have warred with success with a Malaiyamāṉ chieftain[1]. What led to this clash? An inscription from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai of Kulōttuṅga III dated 28th year shows that the Śambuvarāyas, the Malaiyamāṉs and some other chiefs ranged themselves against the Bāṇas and the Kāḍavarāyas though neither side dared to defy the emperor[2]. So the clash must have been due to some mutual ill-will.

There are many records showing such strained relations and even enmity among the Chōḷa feudatories in those days. An inscription from Ārakal (Salem dt.) of Kulōttuṅga III dated *13*th year mentions a compact between Rājarājadēvaṉ Poṉparappiṉāṉ, Kulōttuṅgasōḷa Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ and Kiḷiyūr Malaiyamāṉ of Tirukkōyilūr[3]. Another inscription from Tiruvāṇaikkaval of the same Chōḷa king dated *18*th year, refers to the renewal of a political pact between Rājarājadēvaṉ Poṉparappiṉāṉ Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ and Sīyaṉ Uḍaiyapiḷḷai alias Akaḷaṅganāḍāḷvāṉ[4]. A third inscription of the Chōḷa from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai dated 28th year, records a polical compact among (*1*) Pāṇḍināḍu Koṇḍāṉ Śambuvarāya (*2*) Seṅgēṇi Attimallaṉ Vīrāṇḍāṉ alias Edirilisōḷa Śambuvarāya (*3*) Attimallaṉ Pallavāṇḍāṉ alias Kulōtōttuṅgasōḷa Śambuvarāya (*4*) Kiḷiyūr Malaiyamāṉ

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[1]*S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. *97*

[2]*ibid*, No. *106*

[3]*440* of *1913*. The inscription has been wrongly read by the Government Epigraphist. Poṉparappiṉāṉ and Kulōttuṅgasōḷa Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ were not one but different chieftains. *contra*, *A. R. E. 1914*, pt, II, paragraph *17*.

[4]*483* of *1908*.

Periudaiyāṉ alias Rājarāja Chēdirāyaṉ (5) Kiliyūr Malaiyamāṉ Ākāraśūraṉ alias Rājamahēndra Chēdirāyaṉ (6) Kuntaṉ Nambūralāṉ alias Nīlagaṅgaraiyaṉ (7) Ammaiyappaṉ Marundaṉ alias Rājarāja Mūvēndaraiyaṉ (8) Pāvantīttāṉ alias Rājēndrasōḻa Śambuvarāya (9) Malaiyaṉ Narasiṅgapaṉmaṉ alias Karikālasōḻa Āḍaiyūrnāḍāḻvāṉ (10) Sōmaṉ Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Uḍaiyāṉ alias Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Pirudigaṅgaṉ (11) Sōmaṉ Varantaruvāṉ alias Chōḷēndrasiṅga Pirudigaṅgaṉ against (I) Magadainādāḻvāṉ alias Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ (II) Kulōttuṅgasola Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ and (iii) Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyaṉ[1]. Again, a fourth inscription of Kulōttuṅga III from Arakal dated 35th year mentions another political compact between Seṅgēṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Aḻagiyasōḻaṉ alias Edirilisōḻa Śambuvarāyaṉ and (1) Poṉparappiṉa Vāṇakōvaraiyar (2) Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Vāṇakōvaraiyar and (3) brother-in-law Kāḍavarāyar[2]. These pacts show the weakening imperial hold on the feudatories and the growing disruptive trends in imperial affairs. Magadaipperumāḷ alias Poṉparappiṉāṉ figures in Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa's inscription as late as the 35th regnal year[3]. After that time he is not heard of and another Bāṇa chief by name Dēvar Kulōttuṅga Vāṇakōvaraiyar figures as feudatory of Kulōttuṅga III[4]. The question whether Poṉparappiṉāṉ alias Magadēśaṉ turned against the Chōḷa emperor or continued to be loyal throughout his life, has been adequately analysed by Pandit Somasundara Desigar. Mr. Desigar rightly rejects the former view and holds that Mr. V. Venkayya wrongly identifies this Bāṇa chief with a chief of the same name

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol VIII, No. *106*.

[2] *435* of *1913*.

[3] *557* of *1902*.

[4] *588* of *1908*.

mentioned in an inscription of Rājarāja III Chōḷa dated 17th year[1]. In short, there is no evidence to think that Poṉparappiṉāṉ rebelled against Kulōttuṅga III. Very probably the Bana chief must have passed away after the 35th regnal year of the Chōḷa king. As regards this chief's contribution to religion and learning, we shall note them in due place.

Kulōttuṅgasōḷa Vāṇakōvaraiyar (c. A. D. 1213 - c. 1222) *and others*:

Kulōttuṅgasōḷa Vāṇakōvaraiyar was the immediate successor of Magadaipperumāḷ. But we do not know whether he was the son or brother of his predecessor. The latter view is probable[2]. He was also called Ēkavāsagaṉ[3], Tāyilumnallāṉ[4], Tuṇḍanāḍuḍaiyāṉ[5], Ulagukaṇviḍutta Perumāḷ[6]. Ulagaṅgātta Vāṇakōvaraiyar[7], and Tiruniṟṟuvīramāgadasōḻaṉ alias Tāyilumnallaperumāḷ[8]. He seems

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[1] *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol , XXIX pp. 428 and 429; *contra*, K. S. Vaidyanathan, *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 55.

[2] *contra*, Pandit Somasundara Desigar, *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 427 Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Vāṇakōvaraiyar is not identical with Poṉparappiṉaṉ alias Magadaipperumāl. *contra*, *A. R. E.*, 1936-37, pt. II, p. 72 and *A. R. E.* 1939-40 - 1942-43 paragraph 41.

[3] 166 of 1908

[4] 89 of 1936-37.

[5] 47 of 1911.

[6] 429 of 1912.

[7] 174 of 1940-41; 460 of 1913. There was a later Bāṇa chief with the same title - 270 of 1934 - 35.

[8] 402 of 1913.

to have been in charge of Tuṇḍa-nāḍu in Muḍikoṇḍasōḷa-vaḷanāḍu in Sōḻamaṇḍalam in the beginning of Kulōttuṅga III's reign[1]. Later he seems to have been in charge of Kalattūr in the same *maṇḍalam* or Province, according to an inscription of Kulōttuṅga III dated 33rd year[2]. He succeeded Magadaipperumāḷ after the 35th regnal year of Kulōttuṅga III. An inscription of Kulōttuṅga III Chōla dated 38th year describes this Bāṇa chief as Dēvar Kulōttuṅga Vāṇakōvaraiyar[3].

It was during the time of this Bāṇa chieftain that the Pāṇḍya invasion of the Chōḷa empire happened. After the death of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa in A. D. 1218 Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya (A. D. 1216-1238) invaded the Chōḷa empire early in A. D. 1219, worsted Rājarāja III Chōḷa in a pitched battle, destroyed many places including Tanjore and Uṟaiyūr and caused unprecedented sufferings to the Chōḷa subjects[4]. Later the victorious Pāṇḍya proceeded to paḻayāṟai, the

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[1]429 of 1912 and 166 of 1929-30.

[2]476 of 1907.

[3]588 of 1908.

[4]Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (*Op. cit.*, pp 393-97) Mr. S. R. Balasubramanian (*Kōpperuñjingan*, p. 77) and epigraphists like Venkatasubba Aiyar (*S. I. I.* Vol., XII, p. 179) and K. S. Vaidyanathan (*E. I.* Vol. XXVII, p. 88) think that Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya defeated Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa in the course of his first invasion of the Chōḷa country and that the vanquished Chōḷa emperor regained his kingdom from the victorious Pāṇḍya. This view is based on the evidence of a

(to be continued)

old Chōḷa capital, performed *Vīrābhishēka* in the coronation hall of Āyirattaḷi, worshipped Lord Natarāja at Chidambaram and, on his way home at poṇṇamarāvati restored the Chōḷa kingdom to Rājarāja III Chōḷa on condition of payment of regular tribute. This generous attitude

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solitary record from Pudukōttai dated in the 15th year of that Paṇḍya (9 of 1926). Mr. T. V. Sadasiva Pandarattar who differs from these scholars not only on the Chōḷa king defeated by the Pāṇḍya but also on the date of the battle gives very convincing reasons (*op. cit.*, Vol. II pp. 171 and 172). They are as follows: As the battle is not referred to in the records issued before the 3rd year of Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya and as no record of that Pāṇḍya dated in the first or second year is found in the conquered Chōla country, the battle could not have happened before the death of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa i.e., A. D. 1218. As to the Chōḷa king defeated by the Pāṇḍya it is noteworthy that except the solitary record cited above no other record of Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya issued before and after the 15th year mentions the name of Kulōttuṅga III. In fact, Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya's prasasti (*S. I. I.* Vol. V No. 431) while referring to his second invasion of the Chola empire specifically states that Rājarāja III Chōḷa forgot the truth that he received his empire from the victorious Pāṇḍya, denied the tribute due to the Pāṇḍya and thus turned against him. What better proof is required to support the view that it was Rājarāja III Chōḷa and not his predecessor Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa, who was defeated in Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya's first invasion of the Chōḷa empire.

(to be continued)

of the Pāṇḍya towards the vanquished Chōḷa was dictated by the fear of Hoysaḷa intervention in favour of the Chōḷa emperor. Further Rājarāja III was closely related to the Hoysaḷas[1].

According to some inscription of the Pāṇḍya the entire Chōḷa territory was not restored to the Chōḷa ruler; a part of it was given to the Bāṇa chieftain[2]. One of the inscriptions noted above[3] praises the Bāṇa chief Viramāgadaṉ, undoubtedly Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ alias Tāyilumnalla-perumāḷ Obviously the Bāṇa chief must have let the Chōḷa king down in the war. Further details of the Bāṇa role in the war are not available.

According to some Chōḷa inscriptions[4] there was a widespread disorder or rebellion in the 5th year of Rājarāja III Chōḷa in which

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Apart from this, Hoysaḷa sources, literary and epigraphical, do not mention Kulōttuṅga III. On the other hand they state that Rājarāja III Chōḷa was helped more than once in saving his empire by the Hoysaḷa allies. In truth, Prof. Sastri himself accepts (*op.cit.*, p. 397) that according to the *Jagannāthavijaya* the Chōḷa king protected by Ballāla II was Rājarāja III. It is relevant to note that Ballāḷa II was alive only at the time of the first Pāṇḍya invasion and not later (see also, T. N. Subramanian *S. I. T. I.* Vol., III p. 188).

1 *A. R. E.* 1912, Pt, II, paragraph 30.

2 481 and 482 of 1908; 196 of 1938-39.

3 482 of 1908.

4 213 of 1925; 141 of 1926; 297 and 309 of 1927; 393 of 1918; 11? of 1911; 506 of 1918; 244 and 246 of 1917.

many turned against the king, village accounts and title deeds were lost and a certain Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ carried away idols of gods in some places[1] in Chōḷa maṇḍalam. An inscription from Nīdūr (Tanjore dt.) of A. D. 1231 shows the Kōpperuñjiṅgaṉ I had been in possession of a part of the Kāvēri delta[2]. An inscription of Rājarāja III dated 7th year (A.D. 1229) refers to a fight between Vīranarasiṅgadēva Yādavarāya and the Kāḍava chieftain at Uratti[3]. It is highly probable that the Kāḍava and the Bāṇa chieftains must have acted in concert during this period. Some even think that the rebel vassals must have acted in league with Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya[4].

It was this state of affairs which led to the Hoysaḷa military intervention in the Chōḷa empire. Vīra Narasimha II rushed to the rescue of Rājarāja III and put down all rebels including the Bāṇas[5]

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[1] 141 of 1926. The Bana chieftain appears to have been actuated only by political hostility and not by any bigotry in carrying away idols of temples. He did no harm to such idols and returned them to the people of the locality on payment of a sum of money. Such acts, though rare, were not unknown in those days. Even the imperial rulers did things of that kind. Rājādhirāja I Chōḷa is known to have brought a stone image of Dvārapālaka from the western Chāḷukya country, probably removing it from a temple.

[2] 586 of 1921.

[3] Oratti, Chingleput dt.

[4] T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, *op. cit*, Vol, II p. 188 and K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit*, p. 420.

[5] *E. C.*, Vol. VI, Cm 56; *E. I.* Vol, VII p. 162; *E. C.* Vol. V pt. I Cn. 203.

The fight between the Bāṇas and the Hoysaḷas is confirmed by an epigraph which states that the latter captured 100 elephants with which the Magara came against him[1]. Thus the Bāṇas again turned against the Chōḷa king but were subdued by the Hoysaḷas. As to the identification of the Bāṇa chief, no contemporary record mentions the name. Further, for some years from the 6th regnal year of Rājarāja III no Bāṇa chieftain figures in Chōḷa records. Kulōttuṅgasōḷa Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ is not heard of after the 6th regnal year of Rājarāja III. Again it was only in the 17th year of the Chōḷa king that Rājarājadēvaṉ II Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ, the successor of Kulōttuṅgasōḷa Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ, figures in an inscription of Rājarāja III Chōḷa[2]. It is possible that he turned against the Chōḷa king. Whatever be the identification, there is no doubt that the Bāṇa ruler disturbed the imperial peace. It may be noted in passing that the Chōḷa king Rājarāja III had a Bāṇa princess for his queen[3]. She must have been the daughter of either Magadaipperumāḷ alias Poṉparappiṉāṉ or Kulōttuṅgasōḷa Vāṇakōvaraiyar.

Some years after this about A. D. 1231 the Chōḷa king refused the usual tribute to the Pāṇḍyas, and this brought about another destructive Pāṇḍya invasion of the Chōḷa country. Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya again inflicted a crushing defeat on Rājarāja III Chōḷa, seized his women, erected pillars of victory at Muḍikoṇḍasōḷapuram[4] and performed *Vijayābhishēkam* and *Vīrābhishēkam*[5].

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[1] *E. C.* Vol. VII *Cl. 12*.

[2] *490* of *1902*.

[3] *392* and *504* of *1918*.

[4] *i. e.*, Paḻayāṟai, the old Chōḷa capital.

[5] *C. L. I. P. S.* Nos. 292 and 297.

Rājarāja III's position was so precarious that he left for the Hoysaḷa country to seek for their protection and assistance. On the way at Teḷḷāṟu, near Wandiwash (N. Arcot dt.), he was surprised and defeated by Kōpperuñjiṅga I. Subsequently the vanquished Chōḷa king was thrown into prison along with his followers by his overmighty vassal. On learning this tragic development the Hoysala king Vīra Narasiṁha II determined to re-establish his name as 'the defender of the Chōḷa monarchy ('Chōḷamaṇḍalapratisthāchārya') and started from his capital. On the way he destroyed the Magara kingdom (i. e, the Bāṇa kingdom), seized the Bāṇa ruler, his women and treasures, and encamped at Pāchchūr near Srirangam. Later his *Daṇḍanāyakas* defeated the Kāḍava chieftain in many battles and struck terror into the hearts of his people by ravaging the country and capturing women. Finally, when the Hoysaḷa army prepared to besiege the Kāḍava capital, Kōpperuñjiṅga I submitted and released the Chōḷa emperor from prison[1].

The reference to the destruction by the Hoysaḷās of the Magara kingdom of the Bāṇas leaves no doubt as to the hostility of the Bāṇas to the Chōḷa king. The Bāṇas must have undoubtedly sided with the Kāḍavas against the Chōḷa king. As regards the Bāṇa relations with the Pāṇḍyas, there is no doubt that they were friendly and acted in unison against the Chōḷa king. As to the name of the Bāṇa chief who turned against Rājarāja III, we can only surmise that it was Rājarāja-dēvaṉ II Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ, the successor of Kulōttuṅgasōḷa Vāṇakōva-

[1] *E. I.* Vol. VII, pp. 167 and 168; 382 of 1925 . The *Gadya-karṇāmirta* of Kālakalabha throws much light on the event, *vide E. C.* Vol. IX Kn. 87.

raiyaṉ. A record of Rājarāja III[1] dated 17th year mentions a gift of that Bāṇa chieftain. Another inscription of the same Chōḷa king dated 24th year, significantly refers to the time when Rājarāja II Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ was residing at Perumbaṟṟapuliyūr i. e., Chidambaram. The former record from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai shows that by that time i.e., A.D. 1233 the Bāṇas had again become loyal to the Chōḷa king. But they did not break with Kōpperuñjiṅga I[2].

During the reign of Rājēndra III Chōḷa, the Bāṇas continued their subordination to the Chōlas. An inscription from Vriddhachalam taluk of Rājēndra III, mentions a gift made by an officer of Nāyaṉār Vāṇakōvaraiyar[3]. It is very likely that the Bāṇas stood by the Chōla king when the Hoysaḷas turned against him and invaded the Chōḷa empire[4]. Further details of this development are not available.

In the later part of the 13th century the Pāṇḍiya kingdom was rapidly extended by Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya. He subdued the Chōḷas and their vassals. Rājēndra III's rule was limited to the traditional confines of the Chōḷa territory. The Bāṇas and the Kāḍavas became Pāṇḍya feudatories[5].

Contribution to religion and learning:

Saivism:

Now let us see the services rendered by the Bāṇas to the cause

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[1]490 of 1902.

[2]159 of 1906

[3]228 of 1928-29

[4]*ibid*.

[5]320 of 1913; *S.I.I.* Vol. IV, Nos. 619 and 625.

of religion and learning. Like their imperial masters, the Bāṇas followed and patronised Śaivism though they were well-disposed towards all persuasions. An inscription from Tirunāgēśvaram (Tanjore dt.) records an endowment made by a Bāṇa queen, Ariñjigai-pirāṭṭiyār to the local Śiva temple for worship and offerings and for burning two lamps every day to God Amarasundaradēva set up by her in memory of her husband[1]. Another inscription assignable to Rājēndra I mentions a gift by Sembiyaṉ Mahāvali Vāṇarāyar to the Śiva temple at Pullamaṅgai (Tanjore dt.)[2]. Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ Śuttamallaṉ Uttama-sōḻaṉ alias Ilaṅgēsvaraṉ, a feudatory of Kulōttuṅga I, was famous for his piety and charity. Some Chōḷa inscriptions found at Mēlappaḻuvūr (Trichy dt.) state that the temple of Tiruttōṟṟam Uḍaiya Mahādēva (Mēlappaḻuvūr) which had been built of bricks and which lay in a neglected condition without worship was rebuilt of stone by Ilaṅgēś-varaṉ under the name Kulōttuṅgasōlīsvaram for the welfare of the king and that he made gifts of lands including a village to the same[3]. The temple must have been rebuilt before the 15th year of Kulōttuṅga I[4] Ilaṅgēśvaran's wife and other members of the family made similar gifts to that and other temples[5].

Magadaipperumāḷ alias Poṉparappiṉāṉ was well known for his benefactions to temples. An inscription of Kulōttuṅga III dated 4th year (A. D. 1182) mentions Magadaipperumāḷ's meritorious act of

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[1]*S. I. I.* Vol. XIII, No. *197*.

[2]*559* of *1921*.

[3]*389, 390, 392, 393, 396* of *1924*; *246* of *1926*.

[4]*396* of *1924*.

[5]*S. I. I.* Vol. III, No. *71*; Vol. V. No. *673*; *184* and *185* of *1934-35*; *229* of *1928-29*.

roofing the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai temple with gold[1]. This is confirmed by other inscriptions[2] and by his own title Poṉparappiṉāṉ The same chief built the *Poṉparappiṉapperumāḷ tirumadil* (outer wall) of the Kāmēśvara temple at Ārakal[3] and formed the *Poṉparappiṉāṉ tiruvīdi* (street) at Tirumaḻiśai (Chingleput dt.)[4]. Further, he added a *maṇḍapa* to the Vilvārāṇyēśvara temple at Nallūr (S. Arcot dt.)[5] and another to the Vīraṭṭānēśvara temple at Kīḻūr (same dt.)[6]. It is likely that the temple of Poṉparappiṉasōḻēśvaramuḍaiya Nāyaṉār at Ulaganallūr (S. Arcot dt.) was built by this chief or his successor[7]. There are a number of inscriptions recording Magadaip-perumāl's gifts of villages, lands and taxes to many temples.

Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ, the successor of Magadaip-perumāḷ, was also noted for his benefactions to temples. He added the shrine of goddess to the Siva temple at Vaḻuvūr (Tanjore dt.)[8]. It is highly probable that he built the temple of Tāyilumnallasōḻēśvaram Uḍaiya Nāyaṉār at Ārakal. He granted a village to that temple for worship and repair[9]. It was probably this chieftain who provided the Śiva temple at Vriddhachalam with a flower garden called Rājākkaḷ-nāyaṉ *tirunandavaṉam*[10]. Again it was probably at his instance that the right of singing the sacred hymns in the temple at Tiruppugalūr

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[1] 24 B of 1903.

[2] 544 and 557 of 1902.

[3] 421 of 1913.

[4] 11 of 1911.

[5] 159 of 1940-41.

[6] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 920.

[7] 167 and 169 of 1940-41.

[8] 429 of 1912.

[9] 454 of 1913.

[10] 67 of 1913.

(Tanjore dt.) was conferred on Chōḷēndrasimha Pichchaṉ, a hymn-chanter of Tiruveṇṇainallūr[1]. Further, this chieftain is known to have carried out repairs to a *prāhāra* wall called Magadēśaṉ alias Aḍaiyāvaḷaindāṉ *Tirumḷāigai*, an outer wall, not of the Srīraṅgam temple but of the neighbouring Jumbukēśvara temple[2]. Other inscriptions of this chieftain mention his gifts to many temples.

The last known Bana feudatory of the Chōḷas, Rājarājadēvaṉ II Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ, continued his predecessors' policy. He made an endowment to the temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai for the merit of Poṉparappiṉa perumal i. e. Magadaipperumāḷ[3]. It is interesting to note that an inscription from Tanjore district mentions the foundation by a subordinate of Vāṇadarāyar of a monastery where a provision existed for the recitation of *Tirumuṟai* i. e., the Śaiva scripture[4].

Vaishṇavism:

Despite their ardency in Śaivism the Bāṇas never failed to patronise Vaishṇavism. An inscription from Tribhuvaṇai of Rājādhirāja I dated 30th year describes in detail how Rājēndrasōḷa Māvalivānarāja, the *Sēnāpati* instituted a charity for the well-being of Rājēndra I Chōḷa, The Bāṇa chief purchased 72 *vēlis* of land (about 480 acres) and granted it to the local Vishṇu temple (Vīranārāyaṇa Viṇṇagar) for worship, offerings, festivals, for feeding Sri Vaishṇavas

[1] 93 of 1927-28.
[2] *vide* 89 of 1936-37; *A. R. E.*, 1936-37 pt II, paragraph 32.
[3] 490 of 1902.
[4] 10 of 1918.

for reciting Tiruyāymoḻi and for maintaining a Sanskrit college[1]. On the orders of Bāṇarāja, a minister of Kulōttuṅga I is stated to have erected a *maṇḍapa* in front of the Varadarājaperumāḷ temple at Peṇṇāḍam (S. Arcot dt.)[2]. The Bāṇarāja referred to here may be identified with Śuttamallaṉ Muḍikoṇḍāṉ alias Virudrāajabhayaṅkara Vāṇakōvaraiyar. Rājarājadēvaṉ II Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ's wife Puṇyavathiyār built the *Śrivimāna* of the Kariyaperumāl temple at Ārakal[3]. The temple was known as Rājarājaviṇṇagar, probably named after the chieftain. It is not possible here to mention all the gifts made by the numerous subordinates and officers of the Bāṇas. It may be noted in passing that in the time of Rājarāja III Chōḷa the followers of the Bāṇas carried away idols of many temples. It was not due to any bigotry but to some political reasons.

Learning:

As regards Bāṇa patronage of learning we have some information. Rāsiṅgapaṇmaṉ alias Rājarāja Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ, a feudatory of Rājarāja I is stated to have made a gift to one Kali Tūduvaṉ alias Paḷḷikaṭṭilēriya Nāṭṭuppēraiyaṉ while staying in the Kallūri (College) to the north of the palace at Tanjore[4]. The gift must have been made for some cause of learning[5]. Rājēndrasōḷa Māvalivāṇarāja who held the position of *Sēnāpati* during the reign of Rājēndra I and Rājādhirāja I founded a Sanskrit college, granted the village of Rājēndra-

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[1] 176 of 1919; *A. R. E*. 1919, Pt. II, paragraph 18, pp. 96-97.
[2] 271 of 1928-29; *A. R. E.*, 1928-29, Pt. II, p. 75.
[3] 447 of 1913.
[4] 382 of 1937-38.
[5] *contra*, *A. R. E.*, 1937-38, Pt. II, p. 89.

sōlagaṇ gram' for its maintenance[1]. The College contained 19 teachers and 260 students. There was provision for the study of the *Rig Vēda, Yajur Vēdā, Chchandōgasama, Talavakārasama, Āpurva, Vājasanēya, Bōdhāyanīya Satyashṭa (āḍha) sūtra, the Vēdānta, Vyākaraṇa, Rūpāvatāra, Sri Bhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, Manusāstra and Vaikhānasa sāstra.* Ample provision was made for feeding both the teachers and the taught. Further they were exempted from certain payments and obligations. Similarly, the taxes on the lands gifted to the institution were minimised. Unfortunately, a part of this huge record is damaged and so other details lost[2]. Another inscription from Tirukkaḍaiyūr (Tanjore dt.) of Kulōttuṅga I dated 27th year mentions the gift made by a Bāṇa ohief for feeding ten Śivayōgis well-versed in the *Vēdās* in the local Mārkaṇḍēyaṇ *maṭha*[3]. The Tamil verses in praise of Magadaipperumāḷ alias Poṇparappiṇāṇ found at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai[4] and Kuḍumiyāmalai[5] show his love and patronage of learning. Two inscriptions from Tiruveḷḷaṟai of Kulōttuṅga III mention a certain Sakalavidyāchakravartin who was also known as Kavirāja, Tribhuvaṇakavichakaravartin, Tiruttēr Poṇmēyndaperumāl Karpakavilli Vājapēyāyāji[6]. He is identified with the Kavichakravarthi who composed the verses in honour of Magadaipperumāl and who was presented with elephants[7]. The poet was so prosperous

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[1] 176 of 1919.

[2] *A. R. E.*, 1919, Pt. II pp. 96 and 97.

[3] 243 of 1925.

[4] *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, Nos. 97, 134 and 145.

[5] 381, 382 and 383 of 1906.

[6] 207 and 208 of 1938-39; *A.R.E.*, 1938-39, Pt. II, paragraph 22

[7] 371 of 1925; *A. R. E.*, 1938-39, Pt. II paragraph 22.

as to provide for feeding one thousand people who offered their services during the festivals in the *maṭha* named after him[1]. This Sakalavidyāchakravarthi must be different from his namesake mentioned in a record of 1269[2]. We are not certain if he is the author of *Gadyakarṇāmṛta*[3].

To conclude, the Bāṇas, though hostile to the Chōḷas in the beginning, probably assisted their imperial masters in recovering Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam from the Rāshṭrakūṭas and participated in the Chōḷa invasion of Ceylon in the time of Sundara Chōḷa. Some Bāṇa chiefs were Sēnāpatis in the Chōḷa army and played an important part in the wars of Rājarāja I, Rājēndra I and Rājādhirāja I. A Bāṇa chief distinguished himself in Kulōttuṅga I's second expedition to Kaliṅga. In the days of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa, Magadaipperumāḷ took a prominent part in the Pāṇḍya wars and ably assisted the emperor in the campaigns against the Koṅgu Chōḷas, Telugu Chōḷas, Kaliṅgas and Kākatiyas. Further the Bāṇa chief quelled some local rebellions. But the private alliances of the Bāṇas with other feudatories encouraged disruptive trends in imperial affairs and eventually impaired the imperial strength and stability. Such alliances began in the reign of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa and became common in the later period. Though they were not designed against the imperial authority, yet ultimately they led to it. In the reign of Rājarāja III, the Bāṇas betrayed the emperor, co-operated with the invader Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya in A. D. 1219 and gained in return a part of the

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[1] *ibid*.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol IV, No. 499.

[3] *vide*, Derrett, *The Hoysaḷas*. pp. 229-30.

Chōḷa kingdom. Subsequently, they allied with the Kāḍavas and turned against the Chōḷa emperor. They stood by Kōpperuñjiṅga I when the latter imprisoned Rājarāja III. The Hoysaḷa intervention reduced the Bāṇas to obedience. Later they acknowledged the overlordship of the Chōla and possibly assisted him in his conflict with the Hoysaḷas. When the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara I conquered the Chōḷa empire, the Bāṇas became feudatory to him. In short, the Bāṇa vassals played an important role in the affairs, political and military, of the empire. Like the emperors, they were ardent patrons of Śaivism and were well-disposed towards other sects like Vaishṇavism. Their contribution to temple architecture and sculpture is substantial, and their patronage of learning deserves special attention.

CHAPTER - V

THE KONGU CHŌḶAS.

The Koṅgu Chōḷas, distinct from the Imperial Chōḷas of Tanjore and Gaṅgaikoṇḍasōḻapuram, were a feudatory dynasty. They came to power in A. D. 1005 and continued to rule even after the extinction of the Imperial Chōḷa dynasty. They ruled over the Koṅgu country which then comprised not only the modern districts of Salem and Coimbatore but also portions of Trichinopoly and Madura districts. Their history is highly imperfect notwithstanding the discovery of many inscriptions and the availability of some late literary sources like the *Koṅgudēśarājākkaḷ* and *Koṅgumaṇḍalasatakam*[1]. This is largely due to the fact that from the beginning the Koṅgu Chōḷas issued records in their own names and regnal years with

[1] *vide*, C. M. Ramachandiram Chettiar, *Koṅgunāttu Varalāṟu*, 1954 and Dr. M. Arokiaswami, *The Koṅgu Country*, 1956.

no reference to the imperial masters. Further, many Koṅgu Chōḷa rulers bore Imperial Chōḷa names and even titles like Parakēsari, Rājakēsari, Tribhuvaṇachakravartin, Kōnēriṇmaikoṇḍāṉ etc. Moreover, their records do not contain any historical introductions as those of the Imperial Chōḷas, to distinguish each other when more than two rulers had the same name; for example there were three Vikramas, three Kulōttuṅgas, two Rājādhirājas, two Vīrasōḷas and two Vīranārāyaṇas. Luckily some records are dated in Śaka era. It is on the basis of such records and the internal evidence of other records that we have to reconstruct the history of the Koṅgu Chōḷas. The genealogical and chronological tables furnished by Koṅgu historians like Mr. C. M. Ramachandiram Chettiar and Dr. Arokiaswami are subject to serious corrections. We have to re-examine them in order to ensure, as far as possible, an accurate analysis of the role of these feudatories in imperial affairs. Mr. Chettiar gives the following table of genealogy and chronology.[1]

Vikramasōḷa (A. D. 1004 - 1045)
|
Abhimāṇasoḷa Rājādhirāja (A. D. 1080 - 1110)

Rājādhirāja Uttama (A. D. 1110- 117) | Rājādhirāja Vīrasōḷa (A. D. 1117-113?)

Uttamasōḷa Vīranārāyaṇa (Rājakēsari) (A. D. 1135-1149)
|
Kulōttuṅga (Rājakēsari) - (A. D. 1148-1183)
|
Vīrasōḷan- (Parakēsari who ruled the two Koṅgus) - (A.D. 1183-1206)
|
Vīrarājēndra- (Rājakēsari who ruled the two Koṅgus)- (A.D. 1207-1255)
|
Vikrama II - (Parakēsari) - (A. D. 1255-1263)
|
A Rājakēsari (unknown) - (A. D. 1263-1273)
|
Vikrama III (Parakēsari) - (A. D. 1273-1303)[1]

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[1] *op. cit.*, p. 171.

In his book '*The Koṅgu Country*' Dr. Arokiaswami rightly points out the fact that this genealogical table does not accommodate another Koṅgu ruler by name Kulōttuṅga who began his reign in A. D. 1196 and that the date given for Vīrarājēndra is not attested by available evidence[1]. Dr. Arokiaswami's pedigree of the Koṅgu Chōḷas is as follows :

1.	Vikrama I	(A.D. 1004 - 1045)
2.	Unknown	(A.D. 1045 - 1069)
3.	Rājādhirāja	(A.D. 1069 - 1100)
4.	Uttama	(A.D. 1100 - 1119)
5.	Vīrasōḷa	(A.D. 1119 - 1134)
6.	Vīra Nārāyaṇa	(A.D. 1134 - 1149)
7.	Unknown	(A.D. 1149 - 1164)
8.	Unknown	(A.D. 1164 - 1179)
9.	Vīrasōḷa II	(A.D. 1179 - 1196)
10.	Kulōttuṅga	(A.D. 1196 - 1230)
11.	Virarajendra	(A.D. 1207 - 1249)
12.	Unknown	(A.D. 1249 - 1255)
13.	Vikrama II	(A.D. 1255 - 1262)
14.	Unknown	(A.D 1262 - 1273)
15.	Vikrama III	(A.D. 1273 - 1275)[2]

This table of genealogy and chronology is also defective in many respects. The first ruler, Kōnāṭṭāṉ Vikrama alias Kōkkalimūrkha, began his reign in A. D. 1005[3] and had a rule of 42 years till

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[1] *op. cit.*, p. 230.

[2] *ibid.* p. 236.

[3] 614 of 1905.

A.D. 1047[1]. Both Mr. Chettiar and Dr. Arokiaswami have overlooked the records bearing the regnal year 42. There is no possibility of the other two Vikramas having such a long reign. Mr. Chettiar does not say anything about the immediate successors of Vikrama I. On the other hand Dr. Arokiaswami says that besides an unknown ruler who was in power between A. D. 1045 and 1069 Rājādhirāja (i.e., Abhimāṇa Rājādhirāja) ruled from A. D. 1069 to 1100. But the date of (Abhimāna) Rājādhirāja's accession is not definitely known and we have no evidence for his long reign of 31 years. All that we know about his date is that he was in power in A. D. 1098. The interval between Vikrama I and Abhimāṇa Rājādhirāja must have witnessed the rule of more than one ruler. Although we have no definite information on this matter, we may hazard a conjecture Some of the Koṅgu Chōḷa rulers who cannot be assigned to any other period may have belonged to this period. They are (1) Vīrāparkramasōḷa[2] mentioned in a Vaṭṭeḷuttu record. (2) Rājarāja[3] identical with Rājarāja Karikālasōḷa[4]. We have evidence that this Rājarāja Karikāla had at least a reign of 12 years[5]. There is also the possibility of Rājamahēndra[6] belonging to this period.

Since Rājādhirāja Vīrasōḷa is definitely known to have come to power in A. D. 1117[7]. and since his predecessor Rājādhirāja Uttama-

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[1]*113, 183* and *185* of *1920.*
[2]*624* of *1922.*
[3]*S. I. T. L.* Vol III, No. *1174;* Also *144, 151* and *154* of *1910.*
[4]*109* and *110* of *1909.*
[5]*109* of *1909.*
[6]*339* of *1927-28.*
[7]*593* of *1905.*

sōḻa had a reign of 18 years[1], the reign of Abhimāṇa Rājādhirāja must have come to an end sometime about A. D. 1100. So, we may ascribe Abhimāṇa Rājādhirāja to the last quarter of the 11th century.

After Rājādhirāja Uttamasōḻa (c. A. D. 1099-1117) Parakēsari Rājādhirāja Virasōḻa must have reigned for 24 years from c. A. D. 1117[2]. The interval between this ruler and Koṅgu Kulōttuṅga I who began his rule in A. D. 1149[3] must have seen the rule of another king, probably Uttamasōḻa Vīranārāyaṇa[4]. But we have only one record dated in his 2nd year[5].

There were two Koṅgu Kulōttuṅgas one reigning from A. D. 1149[6] and another from A.D. 1196[7]. Somehow this fact has been overlooked by Mr.Chettiar as well as by Dr.Arokiaswami. Kulōttuṅga I must have ruled for 21 years upto A.D. 1170. He must have been followed by Parakēsari Perumāḷ Vīrasōḻa who had a reign of 26 years[8]. His successor Vīrarājakēsari Kulōttuṅga II is definitely known to have come to power in A.D. 1196[9]. He must have reigned for 25 years till c.A.D. 1221[10]. Dr. Arokiaswami's identification of this Kulōttuṅga

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[1] *205* of *1920*. Later records show that Rājādhirāja Uttama must have preceded Rājādhirāja Vīrasōḻa.
[2] *217* of *1928*
[3] *598* of *1905* dated Śaka era.
[4] *276* of *1920*.
[5] *ibid*.
[6] *598* of *1905* regnal year dated Śaka era.
[7] *618* of *1922* regnal year dated Śaka era.
[8] *150* of *1909*; *629* of *1922*.
[9] *618* of *1922*.
[10] *207* of *1910*.

with his namesake mentioned in the Tīrttamalai inscription[1], is untenable because we have no records of the two Koṅgu Kulōttuṅgas bearing such high regnal year i. e., 35th year. The Tīrttamalai inscription belongs to the Chōḷa emperor Kulōttuṅga III.

Koṅgu Kulōttuṅga II was very probably the elder brother of Vīrarājēndra. Both seem to have reigned simultaneously. On the death of this Kulōttuṅga II, his brother Vīrarājēndra seems to have united the two kingdoms of Koṅgu, and so describes himself as one who ruled the two Koṅgus, southern and northern. The earliest known record of Vīrarājēndra mentioning his rule over the two Koṅgus is dated in his 20th year i. e., A.D. 1226[2], So, Kulōttuṅga II must have passed away before A.D. 1226 leaving no son. Rājākēsari Vīrarājēndra is definitely known to have ascended the throne in A.D. 1206[3]. He ruled for a period of 45 years[4] till A. D. 1251. He was probably followed by Parakēsari Vīranārāyaṇadēva[5] who had a reign of 11 years. The next ruler, Vikrama II, came to power in A. D. 1256[6]. Therefore, there must be an overlapping of the reigns of Vīranārāyaṇa and Vikrama II. Or in the alternative, Viranarayana must be an independent king ruling over some portion of the Koṅgu country.

Vikrama II must have ruled atleast for 10 years till A.D 1265-66

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[1] *op cit.*, p. 230.

[2] *110* of *1920*.

[3] *135* of *1909*, dated Śaka era.

[4] *136* of *1909*.

[5] *S. I I.* Vol. V, No. *281*.

[6] *555* of *1905*, dated Śaka era.

when Rājakēsari Vīra Pāṇḍya came to power[1]. The latter must have reigned for at least 17 years[2]. At the same time we have evidence that Parakēsari Vikrama III ascended the Koṅgu throne in A.D. 1273[3]. Obviously the kingdom must have been divided. That Vikrama III ruled at least for 24 years is clear from some records[4].

It is difficult to identify Parakēsari Tribhuvanachakravarthi Tribhuvanavēīradeva[5] with any of the rulers mentioned above. He ruled for at least 5 years[6]. Another Koṅgu ruler of whom not much is known is Jaṭāvarmaṉ alias Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulōttuṅga III whose 2nd year record is available[7]. He may be assigned to the last quarter of the 13th century. He was probably a younger contemporary of Vikrama III.

On the basis of these considerations we may furnish a new table of genealogy and chronology.

1.	Vikrama I	A.D.1005-1047
2.	Vīraprākrama	A.D. 1047-c.1075
3.	Rājarāja	

[1] *A. R. E.*, 1905, Pt. II, pp. 60 and 61

[2] 554 of 1905.

[3] 610 of 1905 dated Śaka era.

[4] 658 of 1922; 184 of 1927; 442 of 1928-29. As Vikrama I did not have the titles of Parakēsari and Tribhuvanachakravarti and as Vikrama II did not have any long reign, these records must be ascribed to Vikrama III.

[5] 568 of 1905; 185 and 210 of 1910; 469 of 1913; 254 and 289 of 1920; 440 of 1928-29.

[6] 289 of 1920

[7] *S. I. T. I.* Vol. I No. 225

4.	Abhimana Rājādhirāja	c. A.D. 1075-c. A.D. 1099
5.	Rājādhirāja Uttamasōḻa	c. A.D. 1099-c. A.D. 1117
6.	Parakēsari Rājādhirāja Vīrasōḻa	A. D. 1117-c. A.D. 1141
7.	Uttamasōḻa Vīranārāyaṇa	c. A.D. 1141-c. A.D. 1149
8.	Rājakēsari Kulōttuṅga I	A. D. 1149-c A.D 1170
9.	Parakēsari Perumāḷ Vīrasōḻa	c. A.D. 1170-c. A.D. 1196
10.	Vīrarājakēsari Kulōttuṅga II	A.D. 1196-c. A.D 1221
11.	Rājakēsari Vīrarājēndra	A. D. 1206-c. A.D. 1251
12.	Prakēsari Vīranārāyaṇa	A. D. 1251-c. A.D. 1262
13.	Parakēsari Vikrama II	A.D. 1256-c. A.D. 1266
14.	Rājakēsari Vīrapāṇḍya	A.D. 1265-66-c. A.D. 1283
15.	Parakēsari Vikrama III	A. D. 1273-c. A D. 1297
16.	Jaṭāvarmaṉ Tribhuvana-chakravartin Kulōttuṅga III	c. A. D. 1275-c. 1300

Even this pedigree cannot be regarded as final, and may be modified by fresh evidence. There are two ways of accounting for the overlapping periods; one is that the Koṅgu Chōḷas must have followed the imperial practice of choosing the successors well in advance of the death of the ruling king; or the kingdom must have been divided, though not always. There is no clear evidence for the latter view as some rulers like Vīrasōḷa and Vīrarājēndra claim to have ruled the two Koṅgus. In short, it is difficult in the present state of our knowledge to give any more definite information about the genealogy and chronology of these rulers.

As regards the Chōḷa conquest of the Koṅgu country, the *Koṅgudēśarājākkaḷ* attributes it to Āditya I[1]. Although no inscription

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[1] Dr. Arokiaswami, *op. cit.*, pp. 188 and 189.

of Àditya I Chōḷa has been noticed there, the statement must be true because Parāntaka I's inscriptions are found in many parts of Koṅgu and he does not claim in any of his records to have conquered that country. Probably Āditya I Chōḷa conquered it from the Noḷamba Pallavas and the W. Gaṅgas[1].

After Āditya I Chōḷa, his son Parāntaka I exercised his control over Koṅgu as evidenced by the existence of his records there[2]. After the battle of Takkōlam (A.D. 949) Chōḷa control over Koṅgu seems to have disappeared. The same state of affairs must have continued till the Koṅgu king Vikrama I came to power early in the 11th century A. D. While Rājarāja I Chōla's inscriptions describe his conquest of the Chēra, Pāṇḍya, W. Gaṅga, Noḷamba and other territories they are silent on the reconquest of Kṅogu. Probably Rājarāja I Chōḷa did not wage any war to re-establish Chōḷa hold on it. The ruler or rulers of Koṅgu must have acknowledged his overlordship. Dr. Arokiaswami's contention that Rājarāja I's conquest of Malaināḍu and his seizure of Udagai denotes his conquest of Koṅgu and Uttacamund, is untenable[3]. The comparative absence of Rājarāja I's inscriptions in Koṅgu particularly in Southern Koṅgu is significant, and is in striking contrast with his numerous inscriptions in Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam and Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. This is true of his successors as well. But, on this ground we cannot conclude that the Kongu country

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[1]Prof. R.Sathianathaier - *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 153.

[2]632, 633, 635 and 640 of 1905.

[3]*op. cit.*, pp. 202 and 203; *vide*, Prof. K. A. N. Sastri *op. cit.*, p. 171; and T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, *op.cit.*, Vol. I pp. 103 and 104.

was free from Imperial Chōla control. The truth is that the Koṅgu Chōḷas were very much autonomous in their territory.

Vikrama I: (A. D. 1005-c. A. D. 1047)

In A. D. 1005 Vikrama I, also known as Kō-nāṭṭāṉ Kalimūrkha came to power. Since he is described as Kō-nāṭṭāṉ it is thought that he belonged to the Irukkuvēḷs of Koḍumbāḷūr [1]. Though the possibility cannot be ruled out, the view requires more evidence. Whether he was an Irukkuvēḷ or not, he must have been subordinate to Rājarājā I as his title, Siṅgaḷāntaka[2], indicates. Since he dated his records in his own regnal year and in Śaka era without any reference to the contemporary Chōla emperors, Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I, he must have enjoyed a special status among the feudatory rulers. Not only Vikrama I but also all his successors did so

Two of Vikrama I's inscriptions refer to the time 'when' having taken Vendi-nāḍu he wielded the scepture seated resplendent under his glowing white parasol appropriating for himself just a sixth share of the produce of the land discarding the rest and was (to his subjects), like a mother, dear to her new born babe,[3]. Mr. C. M. Ramachandiram Chettiar takes Veṅdi-nāḍu for Vēṅgi-nāḍu'[4]. But a careful analysis of the entire statement makes this identification quite improbable. Koṅgu Vikrama I did not rule over Vēṅgi-nāḍu conquered by Rājarāja I.

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[1]Dr. Arokiaswami, *op.cit.*, p. 242.

[2]*S. I. T. I.*, Vol. I. No. 256.

[3]*A. R. E.* 1919-20, Pt. II, Paragraph 25.

[4]*op.cit.*, p. 179.

Possibly the engraver meant Veṅgālanāḍu, i.e., eastern part of Karur taluk, Trichinopoly district. As to the adversary of Vikrama we have no information. He may have been a local ruler.

The fact that Vikrama I bore the biruda, Siṅgaḷāntaka, suggests that he might have assisted Rājarāja I in his Ceylonese campaign. But no corroborative evidence is available. Similarly, he might have helped Rājarāja I in the campaigns against the Chēra, Pāṇḍya, W. Gaṅga and Noḷamba rulers. We lack information about this although the possibility cannot be ruled out.

As regards the early capital of the Koṅgu Chōḷas, Mr. Chettiar thinks that Dhārāpuram must be the seat of their government. But, there is specific evidence that Veḷḷimalaippaṭṭaṇam in the Coimbatore taluk was the early capital. An inscription of Koṅgu Rājarāja states that he was ruling Adhirājamaṇḍalam (i. e., Koṅgu) from Veḷḷiyaṅgirippaṭṭaṇam[1].

The political or military activities of the immediate successors of Vikrama I, Vīraparākrama and, Rājarāja Karikāla are unknown. It is certainly wrong to think that five years after the death of the Chōḷa emperor. Rājarāja I, Koṅgu ceased to pay homage to the Imperial Chōḷas and that in the subsequent period it disintegrated into a number of chieftaincies[2]. The political and military condition of the Imperial Chōḷas till the reign of Vīrarājēndra[3], was such that no

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[1] *S. I. T. I.*, Vol. III, Pt. I, No. 1174 Veḷḷiyangirippaṭṭaṇam is identical with Veḷḷimalaippaṭṭaṇam in the Coimbatore district.

[2] *contra*, Dr. Arokiaswami, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

[3] *vide* Prof. K. A. N. Sastri, *op. cit.*, chapters X and XI.

secession of Koṅgu from the empire could be possible. Further, inscriptions of the Koṅgu Chōḷas do not indicate any such political disintegration not only then, but also in the later period. What seems probable is that the Imperial Chōḷas did not assert their power in Koṅgu as they did in other parts of the empire for the reason that the Koṅgu rulers were so close to them. But after the Chōḷa emperor Vīrarājēndra, the situation in the Chōḷa empire must have changed owing to the developments within and outside. The military pressure from the Hoysaḷas must have increased. As the Hoysaḷas were then feudatory to the Western Chāḷukyas, some minor military clashes, probably border clashes, occured between the rising Hoysaḷas and the Koṅgu rulers. But the permanent Hoysaḷa conquest of Koṅgu did not take place before the time of Vishṇuvardhana. There is no inscriptional evidence that Hoysaḷa Vinayāditya and his son Ballāḷa I, predecessors of Vishṇuvardhana, ruled over Koṅgu.

Abhimāṇa Rājādhirāja (c. A. D. 1075 - c. 1099) *and Rājādhirāja Uttamasōḷa* (c. A. D. 1099 - c. 1117):

The reign of Abhimāṇa Rājadhirāja, the next Koṅgu ruler was a period of great political and military tension but not of any serious danger to Koṅgu. But in the time of his successor, Rājādhirāja Uttamasōḷa, the Chōḷa emperor Kulōttuṅga I lost Gaṅgavāḍi to Hoysaḷa Vishṇuvardhana after a sanguinary war in which the Adigamāṇ and other chiefs fought on Chōḷa side[1]. No details are available about the role of the Koṅgu ruler in this war.

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[1] Prof. K. A. N. Sastri, *op. cit*, pp. 326 and 327.

Rājādhirāja Vīrasōḻa (A. D. 1117-c. 1141) *and*
Uttamasōḻa Vīranārāyaṇa (c. A. D. 1141-c. 1149):

The reign of Rājādhirāja Vīrasōḻa, also known as Vīranārāyaṇa[1], seems to have witnessed some important military development in Koṅgu. The Chōḷa emperor Vikrama's re-establishment of Chōḷa authority in Gaṅgavāḍi, as indicated by his records there, was preceded by a war in which the Koṅgu ruler appears to have played a hostile part. According to the *Vikramasōḻanulā*[2], Sōḻakōṉ, the imperial general triumphed over the Gaṅgas, Maharattas, Kaliṅgas, Koṅgas and Kuḍagas[3]. Obviously the Koṅgu king must have turned against the Imperial Chōḷas probably after the Chōḷa loss of Gaṅgavādi, and must have allied with the enemies like the Western Gaṅgas, Chāḷukyas of Kālyāṇi and the rebels of Coorg.

Nothing is known about the political career of the next Koṅgu ruler Uttamasōḻa Vīranārāyaṇa who had a short reign. He must be different from Parakēsari Vīranārāyaṇa who succeeded Vīrarājēndra, the well-known Koṅgu king.

Rājakēsari Kulōttuṅga I: (A.D. 1149-c.A.D. 1170)

Koṅgu Kulōttuṅga I was the grandson of Rājādhirāja Vīrasōḻa[4] and a contemporary of the Chōḷa emperors Rājarāja II and

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[1]*S. I. T. I.* Vol. I, No. 319; 556 of 1908.

[2]ll 143-46

[3]T.V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 84.

[4]336 of 1927-28.

Rājādhirāja II. As a Chōla feudatory, he seems to have participated in Rājarāja II's war against the Chēra king. This Chōḷa war with the Chēras is known from literary sources like the *Takkayākapparaṇi* and the *Rājarājasōḻaṉulā*[1]. An inscription from Kāvēripuram (Coimbatore dt.) of this Koṅgu ruler mentions a certain Sēramāṉ-Chakaravarttiyai-naḍaikoṇḍa nāḍu[2]. Naḍaikoṇḍa means forced to walk, and the expression shows that the Koṅgu ruler defeated the Chēra king. No Chōḷa emperor specifically claims to have done this. Another record confirms the event. An inscription of Virasōḷa, the next ruler, mentions a road called Seraṉaimeṉkoṇḍasōḷan-Peruvadi[3]. Since no war with the Chēras happened in the subsequnent period, the reference must be to Koṅgu Kulōttuṅga's war. The Koṅgu ruler must have fought the war for his Chōḷa overlord. Other details of the war are not available.

An inscription of this Koṅgu king dated 17th year mentions a Yātrādhāna of a village which used to be his *Paḍainilai* (military camp) before starting out an expedition to Madura to get his kingdom for his nephew (marumagaṉār) ......Karadēva[4]. According to the Government Epigraphist "this evidently refers to Kulasēkharadēva, the claimant to the Pāṇḍya throne against Parākrama in the war of Pāṇḍya succession. This relationship between the Koṅgu Kulōttuṅga and Kulasēkhara receives confirmation from the statement in the *Mahāvamsa*, that after his first defeat at the hands of the Ceylonese general Lankapura-Daṇḍanātha, Kulasēkhara reinforced his army with

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[1] T.V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, *op cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 117 and 118.

[2] 194 of 1927.

[3] 139 of 1909.

[4] 336 of 1927-28.

fresh forces from several places including the Kongu country which belonged to his maternal uncles and led them against his enemy"[1].

The event referred to in the inscription was the first phase of the Pāṇḍya civil war, and happened in the time of the Chōḷa emperor Rājādhirāja II. The Koṅgu king, Kulōttuṅga I, stood by the Chōḷa emperor in supporting the cause of Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya against his rival Parākrama Pāṇḍya. Incidentally the record throws light on the close relations between the Pāṇḍyas and the Koṅgu Chōḷas. Dr. Arokiaswami's view that this Koṅgu ruler was a contemporary of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya (A D. 1190-1216) is untenable.

Vīrasōḷa: (c. A D. 1170 - c. 1196)

The next Koṅgu ruler was Parakēsari Perumāḷ Vīrasōḷa who ruled the two Koṅgus[2]. The fact that he ruled over the two divisions of Koṅgu, implies that at least immediately before his time the kingdom was divided. The details of such a state of offairs are indeed very insufficient. His numerous records do not throw any light on his political or military career. According to our scheme of chronology, Vīrasōḷa was a contemporary of the Chōḷa emperor Kulōttuṅga III. From Kulōttuṅga III's inscription[3] we know that he conquered Koṅgu, seized the capital Karuvūr (i. e., Karūr), and crowned himself there with the title of Sōḷakēraḷaṉ. The *Kulōttuṅgaṉkōvai* also mentions this conquest but nowhere is the

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[1] *A. R. E.*, 1927-28 pt. II, paragraph 28.

[2] 717 of 1905.

[3] *C. L. I. P. S.* No. 166; 227 of 1917.

cause of the war stated. What seems probable is that the Koṅgu ruler must have supported Vīra Pāṇḍya in his war with the Chōḻa emperor and that Kulōttuṅga III must have wrecked vengeance on the Koṅgu ruler by conquering his territory including the capital. Since Karūr was also known as Muḍivaḻangusōḻapuram in Kulōttuṅga III's time, the Chōla emperor must have restored the kingdom to the vanquished Koṅgu ruler[1]. The existence in the Koṅgu region of Kulōttuṅga III's inscriptions as well as those of the Koṅgu rulers testify to the subsistence of harmonious relations between the two rulers after the war. As to the date of this war, Prof. Nilakanta Sastri says that it must have happened after Kulottuṅga III's second war with the Pāṇḍyas, sometime during A. D. 1190-94[2]. Incidentally it may be noted that in the time of Vīrasōḻa, Karūr was the capital of Koṅgu.

Kulōttuṅga II : (A. D. 1196 - c. A. D. 1221)

Perumāḷ Vīrasōla appears to have been immediately followed by Vīrarājakēsari Kulōttuṅga II. As noted above, he must have been the elder brother of Vīrarājēndra. The two brothers seem to have partitioned the kingdom, and after some time warred with each other. An inscription of Koṅgu Vīrarājēndra[3] mentions his invasion of Karaivaḻināḍu. Karaivaḻināḍu comprised the western part of Palani taluk and Amaravati region of Udumalpettai taluk in the Coimbatore district. Though the adversary of Vīrarājēndra is not mentioned in

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[1] T.V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 152.

[2] *op.cit.*, p. 391.

[3] 143 of 1909.

[4] C. M. Ramachandram Chettiar, *op.cit.*, p. 34.

the record, it may be inferred from a contemporary Pāṇḍya record. The historical introduction of Māṟavarman Sundara I Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1216-38) refers to his settlement of a quarrel between two Koṅgu rulers and to the release of the king of Northern Koṅgu[1]. Since Koṅgu Kulōttuṅga II and Vīrarājēndra were contemporaries of the Pāṇḍya, the reference in the Pāṇḍya record must be to these two Koṅgu rulers. But of the two, it is difficult in the present state of our knowledge, to identify the king of Northern Koṅgu who was imprisoned by his rival. Similarly, the date of this event is also not known. Possibly it happened in the early part of the reign of the Chōḷa emperor Rājarāja III. The Chōḷa emperor must have lost his hold on that region. The Pāṇḍya emperor's influence in Koṅgu was due not only to his military might but also to his close relations[2] with the Kōṅgu rulers.

A record of Hoysaḷa Ballāla II (A.D. 1173-1220) belonging to A.D. 1203 is found at Mudikoṇḍān in the Coimbatore district[3]. The contents of the inscriptions do not suggest any Hoysaḷa-Koṅgu Chōḷa conflict. But it is indicative of their growing contact with Koṅgu, the nature of which is obscure.

Since a record of Vīrarājēndra dated 20th year refers to his rule over the two Koṅgus, Koṅgu Kulōttuṅga II's reign must have come to an end before A.D. 1226 probably in 1221.

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. V. No. 421.

[2] No. 157 of 1909 suggests that the Pāṇḍya was the uncle of the two Koṅgu rulers.

[3] 3 of 1910.

Vīrarājēndra : (A.D. 1206-1251)

The next Koṅgu ruler, Vīrarājēndra, has left a number of records. Still they do not throw any light on his political or military career. His reign saw the rapid rise of the second Pāṇḍya empire under the leadership of Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1216-1238). It is not known if the Koṅgu ruler played any part in the Pāṇḍya invasions of the Chōḷa empire in the time of Rājarāja III Chōḷa. All that we know about his contact with the Chōḷa empire is that about A. D. 1222 he maintained friendly relations with such feudatory chiefs as Vāṇarāyadēvaṉ, Muṉaiyadarāyaṉ, Chēdirāyadēva, Kāḍuveṭṭi, Kaḷappāḷarāyaṉ and Vilāṭasiṅgadēvaṉ[1]. The identity of these chiefs is obscure. A certain Vīrarājēndra Adiyamāṉ was feudatory to the Koṅgu king[2]. But it is not known if he belonged to the Tagadūr line of Adigamāṉs. It appears that Vīrarājēndra had no trouble from the Hoysaḷas. His queen, Mallikēsi[3], was probably a Hoysaḷa princess.

Vīrarājēndra's successors :

Virarājēndra was the last of the great Koṅgu Chōḷa rulers. He was succeeded by Parakēsari Vīranārāyaṇa (A. D. 1251-c. A. D. 1262) and Vikrama II (A. D. 1256-c. A. D. 1266). No information is available about their military or political activity. Their reign witnessed the zenith of Pāṇḍya imperialism under Jāṭāvarmaṉ

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[1]118 of 1915; 218 of 1920.

[2]162 of 1920.

[3]601 of 1922.

Sundara I Pāṇḍya (A. D. 1251 - 1271). He claims to have conquered Koṅgu[1]. But no details of the campaign are available. It is probable that the Pāṇḍya conquered a part of Northern Koṅgu held by the Hoysaḷas. As regards the rest of Koṅgu, it must have submitted to the Pāṇḍya overlordship even before that. This is clear from the existence in Koṅgu of Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya's records[2]. The names and titles of the later Koṅgu Chōḷas like Rājakēsari Vīra Pāṇḍya (A. D. 1265 - 1283) and Jaṭāvarmaṉ Kulōttuṅga III (A. D. 1275 - 1300), only confirm this view. It is relevant to note here that there was a later Koṅgu Chōḷa called Sundara Pāṇḍya[3]. In short, there is no evidence that the Imperial Chōḷas had any hold on Koṅgu after the death of the emperor Kulōttuṅga III. On the other hand, there is sufficient evidence that the later Pāṇḍya rulers established their supremacy in Koṅgu.

Administration :

As noted above, the Koṅgu Chōḷas enjoyed a unique political status issuing records in their names and regnal years with no reference to their overlords and assuming the typically imperial titles like Rājakēsari, Parakēsari, Tribhuvaṉachakravarti, Kōṉēriṉmaikoṇḍāṉ etc. There is clear inscriptional evidence about their coronation[4].

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[1]354 of 1913.

[2]553, 548, 549, 550, 551 and 617 of 1905; 157 and 187 of 1909; 386 of 1927-28. Other Pāṇḍya records pointing to the same conclusion are 304, 311 to 314 of 1908; 179, 196 and 197 of 1909.

[3]580 of 1893; 472 of 1913.

[4]186 of 1909.

Further they had their own ministers[1], Sāmantas i. e., feudatories[2] and generals[3]. The royal orders were signed by the king and inscribed on stone or copper-plate or on both[4].

The country was divided into several *nāḍus* the total number of which cannot be given in the present state of our knowledge. There was an army of officials, and often there was official oppression of the people[5]; but the rulers did their best to mitigate such grievances. The system of taxation was akin to that of the Imperial Chōlas, and inscriptions mention numerous taxes. It seems that the Koṅgu Chōḷas had their own systems of weights and measures as also coinage. *Parakēsari Uḻakku* and *Rājakēsari Marakkāl* were grain measures[6]. Similar also must be the measures *Sōḻiyanāḻi*[7] and *Poṉṉāḍunāḻi*[8]. *Parakēsarikkal* and *Rājakēsarikkal* were the standard weights[9].

Variety of coins seem to have been issued by the Koṅgu Chōlas. Besides *Kaḻañju* inscriptions mention Āṉai-achchu, *Siṟiyakki-achchu*, *Paḻañjalāgai-achchu*[10], *Amudaṉ-achchu*[11] and

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[1] 101 of 1915; 217 of 1927-28; *contra*, Dr. Arokiaswami *op.cit*., p. 243.
[2] 144 of 1909; 118 of 1915; 184 and 205 of 1920.
[3] 214 of 1909; 590 and 614 of 1922.
[4] *A. R. E.*, 1911, Pt. II, paragraph 37.
[5] *ibid*; *A. R. E.* 1916, Pt. II, paragraph 22.
[6] 101 and 113 of 1915; 181 and 187 of 1920.
[7] 254 of 1920.
[8] 261 of 1920.
[9] 181 and 183 of 1920; *A. R. E.* 1920, Pt. II, paragraph 30.
[10] 117 and 123 of 1915; *A. R. E.* 1916, Pt. II, paragraph 20.
[11] 182 of 1920.

Uṇḍi achchu[1]. Dr. Arokiaswami thinks that except *Kaḻañju* other coins were made of inferior metals[2]. But it is not fully true because an inscription mentions *Siyakki* or *Siṟiyakki Paḻañjalāgai-achchu* as gold coins[3].

The Koṅgu rulers maintained a well trained army of their own. Inscriptions mention their generals and other military officers as also cantonments. Ethical code of warfare was not rigidly observed and even temples were not spared in military operations. An inscription of Vīrarājēndra mentions the damages caused by his army to many temples in the course of his invasion of Karaivaḻināḍu and the subsequent renovation by the king of such temples[4].

Village Sabhās or assemblies loom large in the records of the Koṅgu Chōḷas. They managed the affairs of the villages and were assisted by officials, like the village accountant (Kaiyēṭṭukaṇakkaṉ) and the tax-collector (Paṇamthaṇḍi puravariyāṉ) etc[5].

Religion :

Like other Chōḷa feudatories, the Koṅgu Chōḷas were ardent followers of Śaivism. Still they extended their support to other persuasions. They did much for the growth of the Bhakti cult in the

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[1]Dr. Arokiaswami, *op.cit.*, p. 246.

[2]*op.cit.*, p. 246.

[3]611 of 1922.

[4]*A. R. E.* 1910, Pt. II, paragraph 40.

[5]Dr. Arokiaswami, *op.cit.*, p. 246.

Koṅgu country. A number of temples were erected. A record from Kaṇṇapuram (Coimbatore dt.) mentions a Śiva temple called Vikramasōḻīśvaramuḍaiyār[1]. Since the temple is mentioned in the record of Vīrarājēndra and since Vikrama II ruled after the former, the temple must have been erected by and named after the Koṅgu king Vikrama I. The temples of Rājarāja Īśvaramuḍaiyār and Adirādirādīchchuramuḍaiyār noted in a record of Vīrarājēndra[2] must have been built by the early Koṅgu rulers, Rājarāja also known as Rājarāja Karikāla and Adirādarājarāja. As to the location of the temples, all that we know is that they were situated in the Karaivaḻināḍu of Koṅgu, once invaded and ravaged by Vīrarājēndra's army[3]. Similarly, the temple of Uttamasōḻīśvaramuḍaiyār at Perumānallūr (Coimbatore dt.) must have been built very probably by Uttamasōḻa also known as Rājādhirāja Uttamasōḻa[4]. The temple of Kulōttuṅgasōḻīśvaramuḍaiyār at Muṭṭūr (Coimbatore dt.) was most probably built by Koṅgu Kulōttuṅga II[5] The temple of Vīrasōḻīśvaramuḍaiyār at Kōḻumam (Coimbatore dt.) was built by Vīrasōḻa also known as Parakēsari Perumāḷ Vīrasōḻadēva[6] Vīrarājēndra Īśvaramuḍaiyār in the Karaivaḻināḍu of Koṅgu[7] was in all probability constructed by Koṅgu Vīrarājēndra. The temple of Ellāmvallasōḻīśvaram at Sāmattūr (Coimbatore dt.) was built by Tribhuvaṇachakravartin

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. 1, No. 297.

[2] *A. R. E.* 1910, Pt, II, paragraph 40.

[3] *ibid*

[4] No. 6 of the genealogy.

[5] 158, 160, 161 and 166 of 1910.

[6] *150* of 1909.

[7] *A. R. E.* 1910, Pt. II, paragraph 40.

Vikrama III of Koṅgu[1]. All these are Śiva temples, and details about other Śiva temples which came into existence during this period are not available. Provisions were made by many rulers for repair of old temples[2].

Śiva temples and their servants were often exempted from taxes, and people who resided within the premises of temples were often treated with special kindness and dignity in respect of tax collection[3]. In some cases, employees of temples were allotted free quarters[4]. An inscription of Parakēsari Abhimānasōḷa[5] throws interesting light on the privileges of temple servants including *tapasyas* and *dēvaraḍiyār* (temple women) and drummers living within the premises of the temple area. They were allowed to hoist (flag) Rājādhirājan, to ride on a horse and to sound drums and gongs, evidently when going out in procession. Further, they were allowed to have a second floor for their houses, two entrances in front and the privilege of covering their houses with plaster[6]. An epigraph probably of Vērarājīndra exhorts soldiers to save temples and their

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[1]184 of 1927. Vikrama of this record could not be Vikrama I because he did not bear the title Tribhuvaṇachakravartin; nor could he be Vikrama II who had a brief reign. Considering the high regnal year the ruler must be Vikrama III.

[2]e. g., 630, 632 and 652 of 1922.

[3]*A. R. E.* 1910, Pt. II, paragraph 42.

[4]*A.R.E.* 1911, Pt. II paragraph 36; 216 of 1927; *A.R.E.* 1927, Pt. II, paragraph 28.

[5]96 of 1915.

[6]*A. R. E.* 1916, Pt. II, paragraph 19.

premises from destruction in the time of war[1]. Temple trustees were free to audit temple accounts without being in any way harassed by officials.

Inscriptions mention a number of Śaiva *maṭhas* founded or supported by Koṅgu Chōḷas. They are the Tirunīriṭṭāṉtirumaḍam[2] and the Tiruttoṇḍattogaiyāṉmaḍam at Koḻumam, the Mēlaimaḍam and another at Kaṇḍādiputtūr[3] and the Tirugnāṉasambandanambimaḍam at Aṉṉūr[4]-all in the Coimbatore district.

Besides, the usual provision for conducting festivals[5] and feeding Śaiva ascetics[6] the Koṅgu Chōḷas made arrangements for recitation of *Tirupadiyam* (Dēvaram hymns)[7]. It is very interesting to note that at the instance of the Koṅgu king Vikrama II, the Pāṇḍya king Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara II Pāṇḍya, provided for the recitation of the *Tirugnāṉam* in the temple at Tinnevelly by as many as eleven *tapasvins*, who were the disciples of several important pontifical heads of *maṭhas* in South India[8]. *Tirugnāṉam* is probably that part of the *Dēvaram* which was composed by St. Tirugnāṉa-sambandar.

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[1] 167 of 1909.

[2] 197 of 1909.

[3] 115, 224 and 234 of 1909.

[4] 606 of 1922.

[5] e. g., 242 of 1909; *S. I. T. I.* Vol. I, No. 287.

[6] 102 of 1915.

[7] A. *R. E.* 1919-20, Pt. II, paragraph 27.

[8] A. *R. E.* 1929-30, Pt. II, paragraph 12.

Vaishṇavism :

That the Koṅgu Chōḷas patronised Vaishṇavism is clear from some epigraphs mentioning their benefactions to Vishṇu temples. Koṅgu Kulōttuṅga II, Vīrarājēndra and Vikrama II made gifts to the Kariyamāṇickaperumāḷ temple at Vijayamaṅgalam (Coimbatore dt.)[1], and Vikrama II seems to have renovated it some time after his accession. Vīrarājēndra made gifts to the Vishṇu temples of Aḻagarmalai (near Madura)[2], Srīraṅgam[3], Tirunārāyaṇapuram[4] and Komāraliṅgam[5]. An inscription from Periyapāḷayam (Coimbatore dt.) of Vikrama II[6] refers to Vikramasōḻaviṇṇagaram (i. e., a Vishṇu temple) at Vikramasōḻachaturvēdimaṅgalam. Probably Vikrama II built this temple. The village referred to is Tiruvālanduṟai[7].

Jainism :

That Jainism also received the support of some Koṅgu Chōḷas is known from a few records. Vijayamaṅgalam, Arasamalai, Tiṅgalūr, Veḷḷōḍu, Pūnthuṟai and Seeṉamaṅgalam were important Jain villages in Koṅgu[8]. An epigraph of Koṅgu Vikrama I[9] records his construction

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[1] 578 of 1905.

[2] 135 of 1909.

[3] 129 of 1909.

[4] 128 of 1909.

[5] 130 of 1909.

[6] 317 of 1908; *S. I. T. I.* Vol. I, No. 265

[7] 163 of 1909.

[8] Dr. Arokiaswami, *op.cit.*, p. 297.

[9] 614 of 1905; *S. I. T. I.*, Vol. I, No. 256.

of the *Siṅgaḷāntakaṉ pudumukhamaṇḍapa* in the Pushpanātha (Jain) temple at Tiṅgaḷūr, Coimbatore dt.. Probably the same ruler made a gift to the Jain temple at Parañjēvaḻi in the same district. Another inscription form Vijayamaṅgalam, also in the same district, refers to Koṅgu Kulōttuṅga I's gifts to a Jain monastery[1].

Learning:

Not much is known about the Koṅgu Chōḷa patronage of learning. An inscription probably of Vīrarājēndra[2] refers to a grant for the recital of the great epic *Mahābhārata* at Tiruvālanduṟai. Attention has already been drawn to the provision for the recitation of the *Tirugnāṉam* by learned ascetics in the temple at Tinnevelly.

To conclude, we do not possess adequate evidence for a detailed analysis of the role of the Koṅgu Chōḷas in Later Chōḷa affairs. Koṅgu came under Imperial Chōḷa control in the time of Āditya I Chōḷa. After the battle of Takkōlam the imperial hold on Koṅgu seems to have disappeared. But Rājarāja I Chōla re-established Chōla control there. It is possible that Vikrama I, the earliest Koṅgu Chōḷa, assisted the emperor Rājarāja I in his southern and western military campaigns. It is probable that for some time the Kongu Chōḷas safeguarded the imperial military interests against the hostile Hoysaḷas before Vishṇuvardhana. But in the time of the emperor Vikrama, the Koṅgu ruler Rājādhirāja Vīrasōḻa appears to have sided with the hostile W. Gaṅgas. Koṅgu Kulōttuṅga I appears to have assisted the Chōḷa

[1] 598 of 1905.

[2] 163 of 1909.

emperors in the war against the Chēra king and in the Pāṇḍya civil war. In the time of the Chōḷa emperor Kulōttuṅga III, the Koṅgu ruler turned against him thus provoking the Chōḷa invasion of Koṅgu. After Vīrarājēndra, the Koṅgu Chōḷas seem to have come under Pāṇḍya control. It was largely due to the close relations between the two dynasties. The role of the Koṅgu rulers in Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya wars is not clear; nor do we know the nature of their relations with the rising Hoysaḷas. But in the time of Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya, Koṅgu acknowledged his overlordship. The role of the Koṅgu Chōḷas in the cultural progress of the empire is not as conspicuous as that of the Bāṇas or Kāḍavarāyas.

CHAPTER-VI

THE KĀḌAVARĀYAS

The Kāḍavarāyas of Kūḍal and Śēndamangalam[1] were the most important feudatories of the Later Chōḷas. Originally they exercised their sway in the Perugāṇūr-nāḍu[2] and eventually lorded over an extensive area comprising the modern North Arcot, South Arcot and Chingleput districts and even a part of the Tanjore district.

A word about their origin. Some scholars think that these chieftains were descendants of the Pallavas[3]. Others think that the Kāḍavas were inhabitants of the forests about the Eastern Ghats in

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[1]Both in the South Arcot district.

[2]South Arcot dt. *S. I. I.*, Vol VII, No. 1004; 374 of 1902.

[3]T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, *op.cit*, Vol. II, p. 104; *T. D. Inss.* Vol. I, p. 17; *A. R. E.* 1909, Pt. II, p. 78; *E. I.* Vol. XXIII, No. 27, p. 175

the South and North Arcot districts[1]. A third view is that the Kāḍavas were Vaṉṉiyas, also called Paḍaiyātchis[2]. That the Kāḍavas were different from the Pallavas is clear from the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* of Jayaṅkoṇḍar which makes an unmistakable distinction between the two[3]. Further the earlier Kāḍava chiefs did not assume any Pallava name or title other than Kāḍava. On the other hand, most of them bore the title of Paḷḷi[4] which had nothing to do with the Pallavas. Maṉavāḷapperumāḷ and his son. Kōpperuñjiṅga I were the first Kāḍavar rulers to assume Pallava names like Aḻagiya Pallavaṉ, Pallavar Perumāṉ[5]. As regards the second view, it is wrong to interpret the word Kāḍavar as denoting the forest people of the Arcot districts. The Kāḍavas were as civilized and cultured as the people of any other part of the Tamil country. The third view identifying the Kāḍavas with the Vaṉṉiyas is most probable. The assumption by the early Kāḍava chiefs of the title of Paḷḷi, the close family relations between the Kāḍavas and the Chēdirāyas who bore the title of Vaṉṉiyanāyaṉ[6] and the fact that Kāḍavarāya is one of the titles of the Vaṉṉiyas show that there is much in support of this view.

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[1]J. *I. H.*, Vol. XVI, p. 137.

[2]Pandit S. Somasundara Desigar, J. *I H.*, Vol. XVII, p. 314.

[3]*Kalingattupparani*, V. 329 'கன்னடர், பல்லவர், கைதவர், காடவர், காரிபர், கோசலரே'.

[4]232 of 1916; *S. I. I.*, Vol. XII Appx. B. 5; 137 of 1900; 374 of 1902.

[5]*S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 257; Vol. VIII Nos. 69 and 351.

[6]*S. I. I.* Vol.XII, No. 241.

It may be that the Kāḍavas had matrimonial relations with the descendants of the Pallavas. The earliest konwn Kāḍava chief Sattiviṭaṅgaṉ (10th century A. D.) married a daughter of a certain Pallavaperkaḍaiyār who is regarded as a Pallava chief[1].

The earliest Kāḍava feudatory of the Imperial Chōḷas was a certain Araiyaṉ Muṉaiyaṉ Mōgaṉ alias Rājēndrasōḷa Kāḍavarāyaṉ of Kūḍalur in Perugāṉūr-nāḍu, referred to in an epigraph from Tirunāmanallūr (S. A. dt.) of Kulōttuṅgā[2] Chōḷa dated 14th year. No Kāḍava chief of this name figures in the reigns of Kulōttuṅga II or III. This and the fact that the chief is mentioned without such titles as Āḷappirandāṉ, suggest that he was a feudatory of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa. Further, the name Rājēndrasōḷa Kāḍavarāyaṉ is significant. Kulōttuṅga I was also known as Rājēndra in the early years of his reign. Probably the Kāḍava assumed the early name of his Chōla overlord. This Kāḍava chief's role in Chōḷa affairs is not known. Another inscription of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa[3] dated 31st year mentions his general, Sēnāpati Ādittaṉ Tiruchchiṟṟambalam Uḍaiyāṉ alias Kāḍavarāyaṉ of Kañjaṉūr. The relationship of this chief to the one mentioned above is not clear.

It may be noted in passing that, according to an inscription from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr (Chingleput dt.), Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa's queen, Sōḷaṉsōṟudaiyāḷ, belonged to the Kāḍava dynasty[4]. She was also called Kāḍavaṉ-Mahādēvi.

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[1] *T. D. Inss.* Vol. I, Nos. 8 and 9.
[2] 234 of 1939-40.
[3] 144 of 1925.
[4] 111 of 1912.

The genealogy of the other early Kāḍava chiefs is known from two identical inscriptions, one from Vriddhāchalam[1] and the other from Tiruveṇṇainallūr[2]. The next Kāḍava chief, according to these inscriptions, is Vaḷandāṇār (c. A. D. 1076 - c. 1112). He is probably identical with Vīranāḍāṇ Vaḷandāṇ mentioned in a record of Kulōttuṅga I dated 42nd year (A.D. 1112)[3]. His relationship to Rājēndrasōḻa Kāḍavarāyaṇ mentioned above is not known.

From the two inscriptions noted above[4], this Kāḍava chief is said to have fought against the Ceylonese and the Gaṅgas. As a feudatory of Kulōttuṅga I Chōla, the Kāḍava must have fought the battle of Anurādhapura in which the Chōḻa army triumphed over Vijayabāhu I of Ceylon[5]. According to the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, Kulōttunga I Chōḷa's general, Karuṇākaraṇ, is credited with a victory in Ceylon[6]. Very probably the Kāḍava chief Vaḷandāṇ must have accompanied Karuṇākaraṇ to Ceylon.

As regards the victory over the Gaṅgas it is not known whether it was part of the war with the Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi fought in A. D. 1076 or a later campaign against the W. Gaṅgas. The former is very probable.

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 263.

[2] *ibid* No. 264.

[3] 352 of 1902.

[4] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, Nos. 263 and 264.

[5] *vide* K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op.cit.*, pp. 310 and 311.

[6] *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*. v. 64. - 'இலங்கை எறிந்த கருணாகரன்'.

The next Kāḍava chief according to the genealogy, is Āṭkolli or Āḷkkoḷḷi (c. A.D. 1113-c. 1136) the son of Vaḷandāṉar[1]. He should not be confused with Āḷkoḷḷi Kādavarāyaṉ. a feudatory of Kulōttuṅga II Chōḷa and Rājarājā II Chōḷa[2]. Mōhaṉ Āḷkoḷḷi II was in all probability the grandson of the earlier Āḷkoḷḷi[3]. Āḷkoḷḷi I had also the title of Kulōttuṅgasōḷa Kāḍavarāyaṉ[4]. The *Vikramasōḷaṉulā* of Oṭṭakkūttaṉ mentions a certain Señjiyarkōṉ Kāḍavar[5]. It is not known whether this Kāḍava was related to or identical with Āḷkoḷḷi Kāḍavarāyaṉ. The former view is probable. Pandit Somasundara Desigar rightly rejects Prof. Nilakanta Sastri's identification of Āḷkoḷḷi with Ēḷiśaimōgaṉ Āḷappiṟandāṉ and Arasanārāyaṇaṉ[6]. The last two were, according to the Vriddhāchalam verses[7], the sons of Āḷkoḷḷi. Nothing is known of the political or military role of this chief in the imperial affairs of the Chōḷas. He figures as a Chōḷa feudatory up to the 3rd year of Kulōttuṅga II Chōḷa i. e., A. D. 1136.

According to the Vriddhāchalam inscription[9] Āḷkoḷḷi had two sons (1) Nālutikkumvenṟāṉ Ēḷiśaimōgaṉ Kāḍavarāyaṉ (2) Arasanārāyaṇaṉ Kachchiyarāyaṉ alias Kāḍavarāyaṉ (c. A. D. 1136-c. 1171.)

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 263.

[2] *ibid* No. 262.

[3] *vide* S. R. Balasubramaniam, *Kōpperuñjiṅgaṉ* p. 10.

[4] 157 of 1902.

[5] ll 159 and 160.

[6] *J. I. H.* Vol. XVII p. 319.

[7] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII No. 263.

[8] *J. I. H.* Vol. XVII p. 316.

[9] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 263.

The elder son was also known as Āḷappiṟandāṉ Mōgaṉ alias Nālutikkumveṉṟa Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyaṉ of Kūdal[1]. It is very probable that he is identical with Āḷappiṟandāṉ Ēḷiśaimōgaṉ alias Kulōttuṅgasōḷa Kāḍavarāyaṉ[2]. The name Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyaṉ must have been borne by him in the time of Rājarāja II.

Both the brothers were feudatory to Kulōttuṅga II Chōḷa. The elder brother must have fought and won several battles, as his title Nālutikkumveṉṟāṉ (i. e., one who conquered the four quarters) suggests. That apart, no other information on his military career is available.

The younger brother Arasanārāyaṇaṉ Kachchiyarāyaṉ claims, according to the Vriddhāchalam record[3], to have taken the southern mountains, defeated the Raṭṭar[4] and captured Vātāpi. It is difficult to explain these achievements because, according to Chōḷa sources, no great wars were fought during the reign of Kulōttuṅga II or Rājarāja II Chōḷa. According to the *Takkayākapparaṇi* and *Rājarājasōḷaṉāḷu* of Oṭṭakkūttaṉ, Rājarāja II Chōḷa fought wars with the contemporary Chēra and Pāṇḍya rulers[5]. The Kāḍava chief must have distinguished himself in those wars. There is no other way of explaining the southern campaigns mentioned above. As regards the campaign against

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[1] 166 of 1906.

[2] 4 of 1903; *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 150.

[3] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 263.

[4] i. e., the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

[5] *vide*, T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, *op. cit.*, Vol. II pp. 112 and 113.

the Raṭṭar there is no way of accounting for it unless we believe that very early in his life this Kāḍava chief participated in Vikrama Chōḷa's wars for the reconquest of Gaṅgavāḍi and the Vēṅgi Kingdom. That the Chōḷas fought a battle at Vātāpi is clear from *Rājarājasōḻaṉulā*[1]. But the date and other details of it are not available.

Other inscriptions of the two Kāḍava brothers mention their benefactions to many temples. The two brothers are known to have borne the title of Paññāgamuttaraiyaṉ Āḷappirandāṉ[2]. Pandit Somasundara Desigar identifies Arasanārāyaṉaṉ with Kūḍal Āḷappiṟandāṉ Mōgaṉ alias Kāḍavarāyaṉ of the two Tiruveṇṇainallūr inscriptions[3]. But this is untenable because Rājarājadēvar of the two records is undoubtedly Rājarāja III Chōḷa and the Kāḍava must be a later chief.

The next Kāḍava chief[4] was Vīraśēkhara Kāḍavarāyaṉ (c. A. D. 1171 - 1199). He was the son of Arasanārāyaṇaṉ Kachchiyarāyaṉ. Vīraśēkhara Kāḍavarāya had a brother, probably elder, by name Ēḻiśaimōgaṉ alias Jaṉanātha Kachchiyarāyaṉ[5] who figures in the reigns of Rājādhirāja II Chōḷa and Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa. Pandit Somasundara Desigar rightly rejects Prof. Nilakanta Sastri's view that Vīraśēkhara Kāḍavarāyaṉ and Jaṉanātha Kachchiyarāyaṉ are

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[1] L. 523. *vide*, p. 93 of the edition by Pandita Vidwan Sangu pulavar.

[2] 45 and 46 of 1903.

[3] 480 and 481 of 1921; J. *I. H:* Vol. XVII, p. 317.

[4] *S. I. I.*, Vol. XII, No. 263.

[5] 413 of 1909.

one[1]. This Jaṉanātha Kachchiyarāyaṉ is identical with Arasanārāyaṉaṉ Ēḻiśaimōgaṉ alias Jaṉanātha Kachchiyarāyaṉ figuring in a record of Kulōttuṅga (III) dated 5th year[2]. The same chief is probably identical with Arasanārāyaṉaṉ Āḷappiṟandāṉ alias Kāḍavarāyaṉ who entered into a political compact with Seṅgēṇi Attimallaṉ alias Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Śambuvarāyar against Āḷappiṟandār alias Edirilisōḻa śambuvarāyar[3] in the 11th year of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa. What led to this pact is not known, but it was not against the imperial master. Such compacts were common in the days of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa.

According to the Vriddhāchalam record[4] Vīraśēkhara Kāḍavarāyan invaded westward from Vriddhāchalam, destroyed Kūḍal of Kaṟkaṭamārāyaṉ and the country of the Adigamāṉ chief, raised his victorious banner and engraved Aṉumaṉ[5] in the Śaka year 1108 i e., A. D. 1186. These events fall within the reign of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa. What provoked Vīraśēkhara's successful invasion of the territories of the Kaṟkaṭamārāyaṉ and the Adigamāṉ chiefs is not known. Perhaps personal feud might have been the cause. No imperial issue seems to have been responsible for this conflict. The Adigamāṉ was also a feudatory of Kulōttuṅga III[1].

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[1] *J. I. H.* Vol. XVII, p. 323; *E. I.* Vol. XXVII, p. 91.

[2] 157 of 1906.

[3] 254 of 1919.

[4] *S. I. I.* Vol XII, No. 263.

[5] i.e., Haṉumāṉ, the disciple of Lord Rāmā; probably the banner of the Kāḍava contained a figure of Haṉumāṉ.

[6] *E. I.*, Vol. VI, pp. 332-334; *S. I. I.* Vol., VIII, No. 126.

Mr. S. R. Balasubramaniam says that the territory of Kaṟakaṭamārāyaṉ may be identified with the region around Tīrthamalai in the Salem district. In this connection, he points out the fact that in the time of Rājēndra I Chōḷa a Kaṟkaṭamārāya chief ruled from that place[1]. Further, he thinks that Kūḍal, frequently mentioned in the Kāḍava inscriptions, may be identified with Tīrthamalai where the local deity is called Kūḍalāḷvār[2]. Mr. S. R. Balasubramaniam's identification of the territory of Kaṟkaṭamārāyaṉ is probable but not that of Kūḍal. It is probably identical with Cuddalore in the South Arcot district[3]. The Adigamāṉ chief ruled over the Tagaḍūr area in the Salem district. Other details of Vīraśēkhara Kāḍavarāya's military career are not available.

The successor of Vīraśēkhara Kāḍavarāya was Ēḻiśaimōgaṉ Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ also known as Vāṉilaikaṇda perumāḷ and Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyaṉ[4] (c. A. D. 1191-1213). He had other titles like Achaḷakulōttuṅgaṉ[5], Achaḷakulōttumaṉ[6], Ulguyyakkoṇḍa Kāḍavarāya[7], and Āṭkoṇḍanāyakaṉ[8]. He was the first to assume the title of Ṣakalabhuvaṉachakravarttigaḷ[9].

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[1] *op.cit*, p. 13.

[2] *ibid*.

[3] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, Intro. p. VIII.

[4] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII No. 146.

[5] 484 of 1937-38.

[6] *S. I. I* Vol. VIII, No. 121.

[7] 56 of 1922.

[8] 54 of 1903.

[9] *E. I.*, Vol., XXIV, No. 6.

It is not possible to identify this Kāḍava chieftain with Toṇḍaimaṇḍalamkoṇḍa Pallavāṇḍār alias Vīrarvīraṉ[1] for the reasons that none of the records of the latter contains any of the well known titles of Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ. Nor is it possible on chronological or other grounds to identify Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ with Jīyamahīpati, the father of Kōpperuñjiṅga II[2].

Mr. V. Venkatasubba Ayyar[3] and Mr. T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar[4] identify Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ with Kōpperuñjiṅga I. This is also equally impossible because none of the distinctive titles of Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ such as Vāṇilaikaṇḍaperumāḷ. Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyaṉ and Achaḷakulōttuṅgaṉ were borne by Kōpperuñjiṅga I. nor did Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ assume the distinctive titles of Kōpperuñjiṅga I like Rājagambhīra Kāḍavarāyaṉ and Sāḍumperumāḷ.

Further, two of the inscriptions found in the Vaikuṇḍattuperumāḷ temple at Tiruveṇṇainallūr (S. A. dt.) deserve special attention in this connection. One of them[5], undated, records that Kāḍavarāyaṉ repaired the temple of Aḻagap-(Aḻagiya) pallava-Viṇṇagar Emberumāṉ which had been the gift of his mother but had become ruined, and gave certain lands for its upkeep which had been neglected after the death of his father Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ. The other

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[1] *contra*, S. R. Balasubramanian-*op.cit.*, p. 36.

[2] *contra*, K. S. Vaidyanathan, *E. I.*, Vol., XXVII, No. 18, p. 91.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. XII Intro., p. IX.

[4] *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 178.

[5] 484 of 1921.

epigraph[1] dated in the 35th year of Tribhuvanavīradēva, refers to the setting up of the image of the goddess of Periyapiräṭṭiyār by the mother (name lost) of Aḻagiyapallavaṉ Kōpperuñjiṅgadēvar in the temple of Vaikuṇḍattu Emberumāṉ and to a gift of lands made to it by certain chiefs. Tribhuvaṉavīradēva of this inscription is Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa and Aḻagiyapallavaṉ Kōpperuñjiṅgadevar, Kopperuñjiṅga I. The two records were re-engraved when the Vimāṉa of the temple was pulled down, and copies of old inscriptions were taken to be engraved later. This happened, according to another record found in the same temple[2] in the 11th year of Kōpperuñjinga II[3]. From the first two inscriptions it is clear that Kōpperuñjiṅga I's mother built the Vishṇu temple referred to and that Maṉavāḷapperumāḷ who passed away in the time of Kulōttuṅga III was the father of Kōpperuñjiṅga I. So, the two chiefs were different and not identical.

Maṉavālapperumāḷ must have been a reputed military leader, as his title Vāṉilaikaṇḍaperumāḷ suggests. But unfortunately no details of his military career are available. All that we know is that he founded the town of Śēndamaṅgalam (Tirukkoyilur taluk, S. Arcot district) along with the fortress and the Śiva temple[4].

Mr. K. S. Vaidyanathan says that Maṉavāḷapperumāḷ was the first Kāḍava to throw off Chōḷa yoke and that he continued to live even after the battle of Teḷḷāṟu[5]. But the relevant evidence does

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[1] 487 of 1921.

[2] 486 of 1921.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. XII, No. 170.

[4] *E. I.* Vol. XXIV, No. 6.

[5] *E. I.* Vol. XXVII, pp. 87 and 88.

not warrant such a conclusion. An epigraph from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai of Kulōttuṅga III[1] dated 27th year, shows that along with the Bāṇa chiefs this Kāḍava chief had formed a group against the other feudatories of the Chōḷa emperor. Such grouping or alignment of feudatories in the Chōḷa empire was common in the 13th century and cannot be taken to mean the revolt of any group against the imperial authority. It only indicates the weakening hold of the central authority on the vassals. In fact another record of the same Chōḷa king dated next year i. e., 28th year[2] shows the Kāḍava acknowledging Kulōttuṅga III's overlordship. Still, Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ was the first Kāḍava chief to issue records in his own name. An inscription from Śēndamaṅgalam dated in the 5th year of Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ[3] makes no reference to the contemporay Chōḷa emperor. But that need not mean any assertion of independence by the Kāḍava. A feudatory of extraordinary status or power used to exercise such privilege. In fact Kōpperuñjiṅga I did so after the battle of Teḷḷāṟu. Further, there is no other inscriptional evidence in support of the theory of Kāḍava revolt or independence in the time of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa[4].

It seems quite probable that Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ passed away by A. D. 1211 when his son made the customary renewal of the family grant to the temple at Muṇṇūr (S. Arcot dt.)[5].

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 106.
[2] *S. I. I.* Vol VII, No. 146; 133 of 1900.
[4] *E. I.*, Vol., XXIV, No. 6.
[4] *contra*, K. S. Vaidyanathan, *E. I.* Vol. XXVII, pp. 87 - 89
[5] 63 of 1919. *Contra*, K. S. Vaidyanathan, *op. cit.*, pp. 88 and 89. There is no specific evidence to think that Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ continued to live in the time of Rājarāja III, the successor of Kulōttuṅga III.

Kōpperuñjinga I: (c. A. D. 1211-1246)

The successor of Maṇavāḷapperumāl was the celebrated Kōpperuñjinga I, the hero of Vialūr inscription[1]. Before we go into the details of his career we must examine the question whether there were two chieftains of the same name or only one. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri states that "the theory of two Kōpperuñjingas is both unnecessary and unwarranted by the sources"[2]. Prof. R. Sathianathaier concurs in Prof. Sastri's view[3]. Mr. S. R. Balasubramaniam who has devoted one full chapter to this question in his book, '*Kōpperuñjingan*', finds no reason to suppose the existence of two Kōpperuñjingas[4]. On the other hand, most of the Government Epigraphists are of the opinion that there were two Kōpperuñjingas, father and son. As early as 1906 Rai Bahadur Venkayya suggested that 'there must have been two or more chiefs with the name Kō-peruñjingadēva'[5]. Another veteran epigraphist, H. Krishna Sastri, endorses Venkayya's view on this matter and identifies the younger Kōpperuñjinga with the Kāḍavakumāra of the Tiruvaṇṇamalai inscription[6] but at the same time confounds him with the Kōpperuñjinga who imprisoned the Chōḷa king Rājarāja III at Sēndamangalam[7]. Robert Sewell also accepts the theory but with considerable

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[1] *E. I.* Vol. XXIII, No. 27, pp. 180 - 81.

[2] *The Cōḷas*, p. 416, Fn. No. 162.

[3] *Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar Commemoration volume* p. 215.

[4] *Kōpperuñjingan* (Tamil) Chap. 3., pp. 35-64.

[5] *A. R. E.* 1906, Pt. II, p. 63,

[6] 480 of 1902; *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 69.

[7] *A. R. E.*, 1913, Pt. II, pp. 126 of 127.

reservation[1]. The theory of two Kōpperuñjiṅgas is dealt with in great detail by V. Venkatasubba Aiyar first in Epigraphia Indica Vol. XXIII, No. 27, and then in South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. XII. The substance of Mr. Venkatasubba Aiyar's argument is as follows:

Kōpperuñjiṅga I first figures in a record of the 35th year of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḻa i. e., A. D. 1213. The interval between that date and A. D. 1279, the last known date of Kōpperuñjiṅga (II), is sixty six years, and this is too long a period for a single ruler. Secondly a record from Villiyaṉūr[2] dated in the *6th year* of Avaṉiyāḷappirandār Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva refers to the audit of temple accounts for the period commencing from the 37th year of Tribhuvaṉavīradēva (i. e., Kulōttuṅga III) and ending with the 11th year of Aḻagiyasīyar Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva. Obviously the inscription, issued in the 6th year of one Kōpperuñjiṅga, by referring to the 11th year of another Kōpperuñjiṅga, indicates the existence of two chiefs of the same name.

Thirdly an inscription from Chidambaram[3] dated in the 19th year of Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva refers to a flower garden called '*Sokkachchīyaṉ Kamugutirunandavaṉam*' formed at Bhūbālasundarasōḻanallūr. Towards the end of the inscription it is stated that the officer Sōḻakōṉ directed the authorities of the Chidambaram temple to incise this record on the same wall where the *original gift of this garden was engraved in the 15th year* of Periyadēvar. The term, Periyadēvar, is a respectful title applied in inscriptions only to a

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[1] *H. I. S. I.*, pp. 144 and 376.

[2] 186 of 1936-37.

[3] 103 of 1934-35; *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 215.

previous monarch by a ruling king. Fortunately this record of the 15th year is found on the very same wall and mentions the same garden, and what is more important, the record itself belongs to Sakalabhuvanachakravarttin Kōpperuñjiṅga who can be no other than the Periyadēvar mentioned in the other record. Further this *Śokkachchiyaṉ Kamugu-tirunandavaṉam* which is definitely known to have been formed in the 15th year of Periyadēvar is again referred to in a record of the 3rd year of Kōpperuñjiṅga[1] who must be identified with the younger chief i.e., Kōpperuñjiṅga II. Since both the chiefs are thus known to have borne the same name, their records have to be distinguished from each other only with the help of internal evidence. The astronomical details cited in their inscriptions and the name. Aḷagiyasīyaṉ invariably borne by the elder chief, are also helpful in this connection Kōpperuñjiṅga I may be identified with Jīyamahīpati of the Tirpurāntakam inscription[2].

Mr. S. R. Balasubramaniam's reply to this argument is as follows[3]. There is nothing improbable in one chief being in power for 66 years. The Vailūr and Tripurāntakam inscriptions[4] belong to a single ruler. The Kāṭṭumaṉṉārkuḍi inscription giving a regular list of Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya rulers, mentions only one Kōpperuñjiṅga[5] Robert Sewell's view on the theory of two Kōpperuñjiṅgas is not definitive. Further, there must be gaps in the Villiyaṉūr records and the reference in it to '*Aḷagiyasīyar Kōpperuñjiṅgadēvarkku patinoṟāvadu*'

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[1]*S. I. I* Vol. VIII, No. 53.

[2]197 of 1905, *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 247.

[3]*op. cit.*, pp. 35-64.

[4]*E. I.* Vol. XXIII, No. 27 and *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 247.

[5]571 of 1920.

means only the 11th day in the particular month and not the 11th year of the chief. Similar expression is found in an inscription from Pallavarāyaṉpēṭṭai, Tanjore district[1].

Periyadēvar and Devar mean the same viz., the ruling king. The inscription mentioned Periyadēvar[2] and other inscriptions of Kōpperuñjiṅga found on the same wall in the temple at Chidambaram were issued by a single ruler. There was only one Kōpperuñjiṅga with the following surnames (1) Aḻagiyapallavaṉ, Aḻagiyasīyaṉ, Kūḍal Āḷappiṟandāṉ Sakalabhuvaṉachakravarttigal Sokkachchīyaṉ, Mahārājasimha, Khaḍgamalla, Sāḍumperumāḷ, Tamiḻnāḍukāttaperumāḷ etc[3].

Now let us examine the views of both the scholars. Mr.Venkatasubba Aiyar's opinion that a period of sixty six years for a single chieftain is too long cannot be ignored particularly when there is no record dated in such high regnal year. Mr. Balasubramaniam himself says that Kōpperuñjiṅga (leaving the question whether there were two or one) had the surname Sāḍumperumāḷ. According to an epigraph, Sāḍumperumāḷ constructed a *gōpura* some time by the 30th year of Kulōttuṅga III i e., A.D. 1208[4]. Really, this is the earliest reference to Kōpperuñjiṅga I in Chōḷa records. If we take this into consideration the interval would be 71 years. Further, we must remember the fact that when Sāḍumperumal first figures in the record of Kulōttuṅga III i.e., in A.D. 1208 he must have been at least a

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 199.

[2] 103 of 1934-35.

[3] *op.cit* pp. 36 - 64

[4] 496 of 1937-38.

youth. Naturally the interval between A. D. 1208 and 1279 is undoubtedly too long a period for a single ruler who had begun his career even before A.D. 1208.

Since the two Kōpperuñjiṅgas had the same name or surnames, it is wrong to think that the Vailūr and Tripurāntakam records belong to one and the same ruler. That is also true of other Kōpperuñjiṅga records. Some inscriptions can be definitely ascribed to Kōpperuñjiṅga I on the strength of internal evidence. Similarly, some inscriptions clearly belong to Kōpperuñjiṅga II. For example the Vailūr record belongs to the elder Kōpperuñjiṅga whereas the Tripurāntakam epigraph definitely belongs to the younger chief.

The indefinitude of Robert Sewell on this matter need not be taken seriously for the reason that many important records bearing on the question were not available in his time. As to the Villiyanūr record, there does not appear to be any gap in it. The number eleven there stands for *year* and certainly not for for *day*. The Chidambaram inscription also contains such expression[1].

As regards the term Periyadēvar it certainly means predecessor, immediate as well as distant[2]. Generally the term, Periyadēvar, is followed by the name of the king-predecessor. But in the Chidambaram Inscription and in some others also this is not found. The reason is that the

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[1]Here 'பதினெட்டாவது' means 18th year. *Vide*. S. R. Balasubramaniam *op.cit*., p. 55; 103 of 1934 - 35.

[2]*vide*, M. S. Govindasamy, '*Notes on Periyadēvar and Ayyadēvar*', *Proceedings of the First International conference of Tamil Studies*, 1966, pp. 350 and 351.

two Kāḍava rulers had the same name. The younger Kōpperuñjiṅga therefore refers to his father as Periyadēvar. It is interesting to note that another inscription of Kōpperuñjiṅga (II) *dated 3rd year* found in the same temple at Chidambaram refers to the gifts of cows made in the *3rd and 4th* years of Periyadēvar i.e., Kōpperuñjiṅga I[1]. How then can we treat Periyadēvar as synonimous with Dēvar which means only the ruling king ? Mr. S. R. Balasubramaniam thoroughly ignores this important point in the interpretation of the Chidambaram record.

Apart from these, a record cited by Mr. S.R. Balasubramaniam, in support of his view[2] does contradict his own. The record is No. 158 of *S. I. I.* **Vol.** XII-a Kōpperuñjiṅga record. The relevant lines deserving our attention are : ... .''இந்நாளில் (l.6) .... இத்தேவர்க்கு கூட ஆவது (l. 8) ... , இதன்மேல் அழகியசீயன் கோப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதேவர் நாளில் (l.10). ''இத்தேவர்க்கு'' means the ruling king. 'அழகியசீயன் கோப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதேவர் நாளில்' means in the time of Aḻagiyaśēyaṉ Kōpperuñjiṅgadēvar. This is in contrast to 'இந்நாளில்' meaning the time of the ruling king. Obviously the inscription refers to the periods of two different rulers[3].

As regards the Kāṭṭumaṉṉārkuḍi inscription[4] it should be noted that it does not give a full list of the Chōḷa or Pāṇḍya or Kāḍava rulers. It omits not only one Kōpperuñjiṅga but also some Chōḷa

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 54.

[2] *op.cit*, p. 51.

[3] The record belongs to Kōpperuñjiṅga II.

[4] 571 of 1920.

rulers like Rājādhirāja II and Rājēndra III. Can we on that score contend that these Chōḻa rulers did not exist ?. It is therefore clear that Mr. S. R. Balasubramaniam's view is not based on clear and definitive evidence.

Apart from these, there are some other points to be considered. The astronomical details found in the Kōpperuñjiṅga inscriptions point to two widely different dates of accession. According to Nos. 118 and 124 of *S.I.I.* Vol. XII Kōpperuñjiṅga's date of accession is A.D.1231. On the other hand, according to Nos. 132, 137, 140, 144 and 169 of *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, the date of accession is A. D. 1243. How can we account for this except by believing in the existence of two chief's of the same name. It is true that some Kōpperuñjiṅga inscriptions do contain defective astronomical data. Nevertheless no one can deny the fact of two different dates of accession, and the inscriptions cited above contain unmistakable data.

Further, an inscription from Muṉṉur (S. A. Dt) deserves special attention. The inscription states that in the 3rd year, Aḻagiyapallavaṉ Vīrarāyaṉ alias Kachchiyarāyaṉ confirmed a gift made by Ayyadēvar[1]. Mr. Venkatasubba Iyer rightly ascribes this record to Kōpperuñjiṅga II. Ayyadēvar mentioned in the epigraph means father of the ruling king[2]. Since the two chiefs had the same name, the younger refers to the elder as Ayyadēvar. Surprisingly enough an

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No.134.

[2] *vide*, M. S. Govindasamy, *op.cit.*, p. 351; Also Nos. 102 and 90 of *S. I. I* Vol. VIII. The two records finally settle the meaning of the term.

inscription from the same village dated in the 33rd year of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa mentions the gift of the elder chief, Āḻappiṟandāṉ Aḻagiyapallavaṉ alias Kāḍavarāyaṉ[1].

Moreover the Tripurāntakam inscription of Kōpperūñjiṅga II requires some examination in this connection. It describes in detail his religious gifts particularly the construction of the East *gōpura* of the Chidambaram temple and the donations to the temples of Vīraṭṭānam, Kāḷahasti, Madura and Jambukēśvaram. But it does not mention the construction of the South *gōpura* of the Chidambaram temple[2]. This is significant because an inscription from Āttūr[3] of Kōpperuñjiṅga I specifically refers to the erection of the South *gōpura* of the Chidambaram temple by Kōpperuñjiṅga I in his 5th year. A copy of this Āttūr record is also found at Chidambaram[4]. In case we believe in the theory of only one Kōpperuñjiṅga, the construction of South *gōpura* would have been mentioned in the Tripurāntakam inscription. Since the South *gōpura* was constructed by the elder chief, the younger chief does not claim it. Obviously there must be two chiefs of the same name.

Now, one may doubt whether father and son could have borne the same name. Certainly there were instances of this kind, Rājēndra I Chōḷa and his second son had the same name. Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa's

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[1]Mr. Venkatasubba Aiyar's identification of this Āḷappiṟandāṉ with Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ is untenable. *op.cit.*, p. 68.

[2]*S. I. I* Vol. XII No. 247.

[3]*ibid*, No. 119.

[4]463 of 1902.

Malaiyamāṉ feudatory, Rājarāja Chēdirāyaṉ and his son had the same name[1]. The name Kōpperuñjiṅga must be a coronation name or title, the original name being different. The father was called Sāḍumperumāḷ and the son Vāḷvallaperumāḷ. In short, the evidence at our disposal does point to the existence of two chiefs of the same name, Kōpperuñjiṅga.

The next question is how to distinguish the elder Kōpperuñjiṅga from the younger. Kōpperuñjiṅga I was known as Āḷappiṟandāṉ Rājagambhīra Kāḍavarāyaṉ alias Aḻagiyapallavaṉ Sāḍumperumāḷ[2], Tribhuvaṉatti-rājākkaḷ-tambirāṉ[3], Pallavar Perumāṉ, Sakalabhuvanachakravartti, Kūḍal Avaṉiyālappirandāṉ, Kāvalartambirāṉ, Bharatamvallaperumāḷ, Mallaikāvalaṉ, Nisaṅkamallaṉ[4], Aḻagiyasīyaṉ, Avaṉinārāyaṇaṉ, Sentamiḻvāḻappiṟanda Mindaṉ Śīyan, Nṛipatuṅga, Sokkachchīyaṉ, Kāḍava, Toṇḍaimaṇṇavaṉ, Mallaivēndaṉ[5], Sīyaṉ[6], Jīyamahīpati[7]. Of these Rājagambhīra Kāḍavarāyaṉ, Sāḍumperumāḷ, Tribhuvaṉattirājākkaḷtambirāṉ, Nṛipatuṅga and Jīyamahīpati were exclusively borne by Kōpperuñjiṅga I. Others were adopted as such and with modification by his son Kōpperuñjiṅga II. That is the main reason for our difficulty and confusion about the identity of the two chiefs

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[1] *vide* 116 of 1934-35.

[2] 496 of 1937-38.

[3] 142 of 1939-40.

[4] *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 69.

[5] *S.I.I.* Vol. XII, No, 128 and *E.I* Vol. XXIII, pp. 180 and 181

[6] 140 of 1939-40.

[7] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No.247.

[8] see below, pp. 144 and 145.

As to the date of this chieftain, we known from his Chidambaram inscription [1] that he had a reign of atleast 16 years. We also know from numerous inscriptions[2] that Kōpperuñjiṅga II began his rule in A. D. 1243. The question is, when did Kōpperuñjiṅga I begin his rule and how long did he remain in power ? Was there any period of joint rule of the father and son ? Or was Kōpperuñjiṅgā II crowned even before the death of his father, as was the case with the Imperial Chōḷas ? Mr. Venkatasubba Aiyar's latest view on this matter is that Kōpperuñjiṅga I began his rule in A. D. 1232, had his son Kōpperuñjiṅga II crowned in A. D. 1243 and continued in power along with his son for a period of six years[3]. While granting the probability of joint rule, it is relevant to note that the elder chief ceased to rule before the end of the 3rd year of the younger Kōpperuñjiṅga as evidenced by a record from Maṉṉūr[4]. The inscription dated 3rd year of Kōpperuñjiṅga states that Aḻagiyapallavaṉ Vīrarāyaṉ alias Kachchiyarāyaṉ renewed the grant made by Ayyadēvar to the Muṉṉūr temple. Ayyadēvar was Kōpperuñjiṅga I[5] and Aḻagiyapallavaṉ Vīrarāyaṉ alias Kachchiyarāyaṉ, his son. Kōpperuñjiṅga II, and not an officer as Mr. Venkatasubba Aiyar thinks[6] The working of the inscription leaves no doubt that the renewal was made by the ruling chieftain. Usually grants were renewed when a new ruler came to power. The

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 55; 467 of 1902.

[2] e.g., *S. I I.* Vol XII, Nos. 131, 132, 137, 139, 140, 144, 147, and 153.

[3] J. *M. U.* Vol. XIII, pp. 98 - 100.

[4] *S. I. I.* Vol XII, No. 134.

[5] *ante*. p. 120.

[6] *vide*, *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 69 Kāḍavakumāraṉ bore the surname of Vīrarāyaṉ

3rd regnal year of Kōpperuñjiṅga II when the grant was renewed is A. D. 1246. Counting back from that year we get A. D. 1231 as the date of the accession of Kōpperuñjiṅga I. A few months' difference cannot be ruled out. So, the joint rule referred to by Mr. Venkatasubba Aiyar could not have extended beyond A. D. 1246 and its duration must be 3 years and not 6 years.

Now we shall see the career of Kōpperuñjiṅga I. He began his career as a loyal feudatory of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa and was first known as Rājagambhīra Kāḍavarāyaṉ alias Aḻagiya Pallavaṉ Sādumperumāḷ of Kūḍalūr[1] in the 30th year of that Chōḷa. According to an undated epigraph from Karandai[2], Kōpperuñjiṅga I was the son-in-law of Abaiya i.e., Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa. Naturally, he must have been a vassal of exceptional power and prestige. About A. D. 1211 he renewed a grant made by his grandfather at Muṉṉūr[3]. Two years later a political compact was entered into by Seṅgēṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Aḻagiyasōḻaṉ alias Edirilisōḻa Śambuvarāya on the one hand and (1) Poṉparappiṉa Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ (2) Kulōttuṅgasōḷa Vāṇakovaraiyaṉ and (3) the king's brother-in-law Kāḍavarāyar[4]. If this Kāḍavarāya be identical with Kōpperuñjiṅga I, it would mean that Kulōttuṅga III Chōla had married a Kāḍava princess probably aunt or sister of Kōpperuñjiṅga I. Though no record on this matter is available the probability cannot be ruled out. As this record is dated in the regnal

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[1] 496 of 1937-38.

[2] 140 of 1939-40.

[3] 63 of 1919.

[4] 435 of 1913.

year of Kulōttuṅga III, the alliance referred to was not directed against the emperor but against the other unfriendly vassals. Such alignments of feudatories were common in the reign of Kulōttuṅga III[1]

After this we hear of this Kāḍava again in the time of Rājarāja III Chōḷa. The role of Kōpperuñjiṅga I in Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya's first invasion of the Chōḷa empire is not clear. The Pāṇḍya inscriptions are silent on this matter. At the same time they refer to the Bāṇa chief's acquisition from the Pāṇḍya of a part of the Chōḷa country as a reward, obviously for his help against the Chōla[2] Similar reference to the Kāḍava is not available. Concerning the Hoysaḷa sources, there are a few records but their dates, as Prof. Nilakanta Sastri says[3], are uncertain. Naturally, we cannot be sure whether they refer to the first or second Pāṇḍya invasion of the Chōḷa empire. Ballāḷa II claims to have been the 'scatterer of the Magara (Bāṇa) kingdom, mill-stone to Adiyama (Aidgamāṉ) and architect of the establishment of the Chōḷa kingdom[4]. Since Ballāḷa II makes no such claim with regard to the Kāḍava, we may conclude thkt Kōpperuñjiṅga I did not assist the Pāṇḍya.

According to some inscriptions[5], about A. D. 1221 there was widespread disorder in the heart of the Chōḷa empire caused by the hostile Bāṇa chief. We do not know if the Kāḍava chief had any hand

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[1] e.g., 440 of 1913.

[2] *ante*, p. 63,

[3] *op.cit*, p. 420.

[4] Derrett, *op.cit.*, p. 109.

[5] 213 of 1925; 141 of 1926 and 309 of 1927.

in it. Probably he did. About A. D. 1222 the Hoysaḷa emperor Vīranarasiṁha is said to have defeated not only the Bāṇa and Adigamāṇ chiefs but also the Kāḍava. So, by this time Kōpperuñjiṅga I must have turned against the Chōḷa emperor, Rājarāja III. After some time the Bāṇa and Kāḍava chiefs seem to have defied Chōḷa emperor again, and the Hoysaḷa again took the field and subdued the recalcitrant feudatories ravaging their territories. An incription of A. D. 1226[1] records that Hoysaḷa Vīranarasiṁha had destroyed the country and carried away images from the temple of Tiruvaḍatturai (S. Arcot dt.). Obviously that territory was under Kāḍava control and hence Vīranarasiṁha's destructive expedition. It was very probably subsequent to this campaign that the Hoysaḷa occupied Kāñchi and held it for some time[2].

It is significant that in A. D. 1229 Vīranarasiṁha is said to have been ruling from Kāñchi, the eastern limit of his dominion[3]. Further, he calls himself Kāñchi-Kāñchaṇa and Kāḍavakula-Kālantaka[4]. It may be noted in passing that Vīranarasiṁha's military efforts in the Tamil country were not only to save his Chōḷa ally but also to further his own imperial interest. Naturally, he was opposed by the overmighty Chōḷa vassals like the Bāṇas and the Kāḍavas.

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[1]228 of 1929.

[2]349 and 408 of 1919,

[3]*E. C.*, Vol., IV Pt. II, pp. 21 and 22.

[4]*E. C.* Vol. IX, Kn 87.

An inscription of 1223[1] dated 7th year of Rājarāja III Chōḷa mentions a fight at Uratti between the Kāḍava and the Yādavarāya chief, Vīranarasiṅgadēva. Other details of the battle are not available. As a loyal vassal of Rājarāja III, the Yādavarāya chief must have attempted either alone or in league with the Hoysaḷas to checkmate the Kāḍava. The Kāḍava must have failed in this conflict as there is no reference to this battle in his records. That after these clashes also, Kōpperuñjiṅga I continued to be a Chōḷa vassal is clear from an inscription of the 14th year of Rājarāja III[2] i.e., A. D. 1230. The same inscription describes a certain Edirigaḷnāyaṉ Pottapisōḷaṉ, a Telugu Chōḷa, as one of the Agambaḍimudali of Kōpperuñjiṅga I. It seems that by A. D. 1223 Hoysaḷa efforts to contain Pāṇḍya imperialism met with striking success. According to some Hoysaḷa records belonging to A. D. 1223, 1224 and 1227[3], Vīranarasiṁha 'confined the Pāṇḍya power into narrow limits and established a pillar of victory at Ramēśvaram,. It is wrong to think that this evidence means nothing but the diplomatic triumph of the Hoysalas particularly after Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya's invasion of the Chōḷa empire[4]. The silence of the Pāṇḍya records is understandable. Whatever the extent of Hoysaḷa success against the Pāṇḍyas, the Hoysaḷas gained substantially by the acquisition of the Kaṇṇaṉūr kingdom in the Chōḷa empire. In A.D. 1228 Sōmēśvara, the Hoysaḷa prince, is said to be ruling

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[1] 271 of 1904.

[2] 136 of 1900; *S. I. I.* Vol. VII No. 149.

[3] *E. C.*, Vol. VI Kadur 12a, *E. C.* Vol. XI Devangere 25 and *E. C.*, Vol. V Belur 151.

[4] *contra*, V. R. Venkatarama Aiyar, ***Hoysaḷas in the Tamil country*** pp. 12 and 13.

from Kaṇṇaṇūr[1]. This must have profoundly influenced not only the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya relations but also the loyalty of the Chōḷa feudatories to their overlord. Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya was biding his time to wreck vengeance on the Hoysāḷa and his Chōḷa ally.

In A. D. 1231 he invaded the Chōḷa empire taking advantage of the absence from the Chōḷa country of the Hoysāḷa emperor, Vīranarasiṁha, in connection with his son's marriage[2] and the growing restlessness and defiance of the powerful Chōḷa feudatories[3]. According to the Paṇḍya Praśasti, Rājarāja III's defiance of the Pāṇḍya particularly his refusal to pay tribute, and his despatch of an expeditionary force led to a pitched battle in which the Chōḷa sustained heavy loss. Following up his victory the Pāṇḍya occupied the old Chōḷa capital Muḍikoṇḍasōḷapuram and performed Vijayābishēkam and Vīrāpitēkam. The role of feudatories in this war is not clear. The death of many

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[1]Derrett, *op.cit* p. 113.

[2]Derrett, *op cit* p. 114.

[3]Mr. S. R. Balasubramaniam thinks that the second Pāṇḍya invasion must have happened in A. D. 1228-see *Kōpperuñjiṅgan* p. 80. But the Vriddhachalam record of Rājarāja III (136 of 1900) dated in his 14th year and showing Kopperuñjiṅga I's subordination, precludes the possibility of an earlier date. A long interval between the victorious Pāṇḍya invasion and the battle of Teḷḷāṟu is highly improbable. Since Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya assumed the title 'Mudikoṇḍasōḷapurattu Vīrapitēkmum Viyayābishkamum Paṇṇēiyaruliṉa Vīrasundara Pāṇḍyadēvar' from his 15th regnal year, the invasion must have taken place, very probably, towards the end of that year-See T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar *op.cit.*, Vol II, p. 190.

maṇḍalikas is referred to in the record but their names are not mentioned[1].

After this disaster, according to the *Gadyakarṇāmṛta*, Rājarāja III left his capital with his retinue to seek for Hoysaḷa protection and help. But on the way, he was attacked, defeated and imprisoned along with his followers by 'the Kāḍava king who had a vanguard of forest troops and had grown strong by the accession of troops from foreign lands'. After that, the Chōḷa was taken to Jayantimaṅgalam (i. e., Śēndamaṅgalam, the Kāḍava capital). On hearing this Narasiṁha started from his capital in a few days, reached the northern bank of the Kāvēri and encamped in the neighbourhood of Srīraṅgam, and despatched his *daṇḍanāyakas* to punish all the hostile *sāmantas* (vassals), brought about the release of his friend, the Chōḷa king, and levied tribute from the Pāṇḍya[2].

The place where the battle between the Chōḷa emperor and the Kāḍava ruler took place is known not from the *Gadyakarṇāmṛta* but from the Vailūr inscription of Kōpperuñjiṅga I[3] which describes him as Sakalabhuvanachakravartin Kōpperuñjiṅgaṉ Aḷagiya Sīyaṉ who conquered the Chōla king at Teḷḷāṟu and took the Chōḷa country. This evidence is confirmed by three records in verse from Karandai (N. Arcot dt.)[4]. One of them[5] refers to the Pallavarkōṉ who fought

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[1]T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, *Pāṇḍyar Varalāṟu*, Appx. No, 6 p. 216.

[2]Quoted by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 422

[3]*E. I.* Vol. XXIII, pp. 180 and 181.

[4]140, 142 and 143 of 1939-40.

[5]140 of 1939-40.

at Teḷḷāṟu and imprisoned the Valava i. e., the Chōḷa king. Another[1] calls Kōpperuñjiṅga I Tribhuvaṇattirājākkaḷ Tambirāṉ and refers to his encounter with the Chōḷa king. The third[2] consists of three verses of which the first is identical with verse 2 of the Vailūr inscription, and refers to the imprisonment of the Chōḷa. An inscription from Nīḍūr (Tanjore dt.) of A D. 1232 states[3] that the country (i. e., the north-east part of the Tanjore dt.) was formerly ruled by Kōpperujñiṅga.

The rest of the conflict is known from the Tiruvayindipuram record[4]. which besides corroborating the facts mentioned in the *Gadyakarṇāmṛta*, adds that apart from imprisoning the Chōḷa, the Kāḍava devastated the Chōḷa country and desecrated its temple including Vishṇusthānas; on hearing this Vīranarasiṁha left Dvārasamudra saying that he would not allow his trumpet to be blown until after he had re-established his reputation as the Defender of the Chōḷa kingdom. On the way he uprooted the Magara (i.e., Bāṇa) kingdom and reached Pāchchūr near Srīraṅgam. From there he sent two of his *daṇḍanāyakas*, Appaṇṇa and Samudra Goppayya with orders to destroy the country of Kōpperuñjiṅga and liberate the Chōḷa emperor. Accordingly, they destroyed the villages of Eḷḷēri and Kalliyūrmūlai[5] where Kōpperuñjiṅga was staying and Toḷudagiyūr where Sōḷakōṉ was staying, and killed Vīragaṅganādāḷvāṉ, Sīṇattaraiyaṉ and four

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[1] 142 of 1939-40.

[2] 143 of 1939-40.

[3] 536 of 1921.

[4] *E. I.* Vol. VII. pp. 167-68.

[5] These and other places destroyed by the Hoysaḷa *daṇḍanāyakas* are situated in the South Arcot district.

officers including Parākramabāhu, the king of Īḷam. After worshipping the god of Chidambaram the two *daṇḍanāyakas* again started the destruction of the enemy's territory. Toṇḍaimānallūr, Tiruvadi and Tiruvakkarai were burnt and destroyed. Further, they struck terror into the hearts of the people by destroying drinking channels, burning crops and seizing and plundering women. When they approached Śēndamamaṅgalam, Kōpperuñjiṅga became afraid and submitted to the Hoysaḷa that he would release the Chōḷa emperor. Accepting the offer the Hoysaḷa ruler stopped fighting, and the two *daṇḍanāyakas* received and, according to some, accompanied the Chōḷa emperor as for as Tiruvayindipuram (S. Arcot dt.)[1]. The statement of the Tiruvayindipuram inscription is confirmed by other records. A Kannaḍa inscription of 1233[2] refers to a grant by Vīranarasiṁha to the *daṇḍanāyakas*, Appayya and Goppaya for their destruction of the Kāḍava (country) and for the liberation of the Chōḷa.

While his *daṇḍanāyakas* were busy fighting with the Kāḍava, Hoysaḷa Vīranarasimha proceeded against the Pāṇḍya. A decisive battle was fought at Mahēndramaṅgalam on the Kāvēri and it turned against the Pāṇḍya. The Victorious Hoysaḷa pursued the defeated army and penetrated far into the Pāṇḍya country. According to the *Gadyakarṇāmṛta*, the Hoysaḷa levied tribute from the Pāṇḍya. Hoysaḷa inscriptions issued a few years later confirm this military

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[1] *E. I.* Vol. VII, p. 162.

[2] *E C.* Vol. VII, Gb. 45.

success, but it is not known for certain if the Pāndya became a tributary of Vīarnarasiṁha[1].

As regards the effects of these events, the successful Hoysaḷa intervention ensured the continuance of the balance of power among the Tamil states. The Pāṇḍya aggression and Kāḍava revolt were a veritable danger to the survival of the Chōḷa power, and the timely help of the Hoysaḷas saved the Chōḷa empire from such a fate. Rājarāja III Chōḷa was now safe on the Chōḷa throne and ruled for a fairly long period. But the creation of a Hoysaḷa principality i.e., the kingdom of Kaṇṇaṇūr, in the heart of the Chōḷa empire and the growing Hoysaḷa influence in Chōḷa affairs, ultimately produced a reaction against the imperial authority. In short, the Chōḷa power, though saved from a great and abrupt ruin, lost its old imperial coherence and power.

As to Kōpperuñjiṅga I's position, despite his final defeat at the hands of the Hoysaḷa *daṇḍnāyakas*, his virtual independence continued. He seems to have finally reconciled himself to Rājarāja III's overlordship, as evidenced by the existence of the inscriptions of the two in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam as well as in a part of the Kāvēri delta. There is clear evidence that this reconciliation took place by A. D. 1236[2]. For his part, Rājarāja III Chōḷa also allowed the Kāḍava ample freedom including the privilege of issuing records in his own name and assuming surnames, peculiar to imperial masters. Kōpperuñjiṅga I's titles indicate that his relations with the Chōḷa

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[1]K. R. Venkatarama Aiyar, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 and 13.

[2]See, *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 100 and appex. p. 510.

emperor were certainly something more than those of a feudatory with his overlord. Already we have noted that, according to an epigraph, Kōpperuñjiṅga I, was the son-in-law of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa. That apart, Rājarāja III or his successor Rājēndra III appears to have married a Kāḍava princess, probably the daughter of Kōpperuñjiṅga I. An inscription from Siṟṟāmūr belonging to the 13th century, mentions a Chōḷa queen who was the daughter of Kāḍavarkōṉ[1]. Whatever be these family relations, there is no doubt that there was no persistent hostility between the Chōḷas and the Kāḍavas after the restoration of Rājarāja III. It may be noted in passing that Kōpperuñjiṅga I was assisted by the Bāṇa, Gaṅga, Adigamāṉ and Ceylonese rulers against the Chōḷa-Hoysaḷa alliance.

Before we proceed further we may note in brief the state of Chōḷa-Hoysaḷa alliance because it had something to do with the stabilization of the position of Kōpperuñjiṅga I. The Hoysaḷas began to help the Chōḷas from the time of Ballāḷā II whose senior queen Sōḷamahādēvi was a Chōḷa princess[2]. According Prof. Derrett,

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[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 830; 203 of 1902.

'காடவர்கோன் பாவை கனைகழற்காற் சோழற்கு,
நீடு புகழ்த் தேவியர் நீணிலத்து-பீடு
சிறந்தமரும் சிற்ருமூர் செய்திறங்கல் மீட்பித்,
தறம் பெருக வாக்குமவள்'.

Probably this Chōḷa queen is identical with Mīṭṭāṇḍar Nāchchiyār alias Nambirāttiyār Nāchchiyār, daughter of Kōpperuñjiṅga I, referred to in a record of Rājarāja III, dated 31st year - *S. I I.* Vol. VIII, No. 77.

[2] *Mys. Gaz.*, Vol. II. Pt. II, p. 1369 and Derrett, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

Kulōttuṅga III married a daughter of Ballāḷa II[1]. Further, the same scholar says that Rājarāja III Chōḷa married a daughter of Vīranarasiṁha[2] as Somesvara was ealled *māmā* (uncle) by Rājēndra III Chōḷa. Further details of these relations are not available. Nevertheless the close relationship of the Chōḷas to the Hoysaḷas is clear. The Pāṇḍyas also had similar matrimonial alliance with the Hoysaḷas. Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara II Pāṇḍya also calls Sōmēśvara his *māmaḍi* (i.e., uncle)[3], Obviously his father must have married a daughter of Vīranarasiṁha. Besides political ambition these matrimonial alliances easily explain the interest of the Hoysaḷas in the affairs of the Tamil states.

Already we saw the Hoysaḷa acquisition of a part of the Chōḷa empire viz., the Kaṇṇaṉūr kingdom[4]. After the reinstatement of Rājarāja III Chōḷa, his relations with the Hoysaḷas seem to have become more and more strained. Already we referred to the Hoysaḷa occupation of kāñchi. That the area continued to be under Hoysaḷa control is evidenced by a number of inscriptions[5]. From 1233 Sōmēśvara dated his records in his regnal year. In 1236 he invaded the Kāḍava territory and encamped at Maṅgalam in the Vriddhāchalam taluk. We do not know whether on this occasion Kōpperuñjiṅga I

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[1] *op.cit.*, p. 107.

[2] *ibid.*

[3] *E. I.* Vol. XXIV, No. 22.

[4] According to a Hoysaḷa record the boundaries of the Kaṇṇaṇūr kingdom were Srīraṅgam in the south, Savimale (Swāmimalai) in the north and Nangali in the east, Derrett, *op.cit.*, p. 121.

[5] 349, 366, 404 and 408 of 1919.

acted alone or in unison with the Pāṇḍya[1]. According to Hoysaḷa inscriptions, Sōmēśvara won a victory over the Kāḍava[2]. The fact that a *Pradhāṇi* of Sōmēśvara made a gift at Kāñchi in 1238 strengthens the view. Soon after that we find Sōmēśvara distracted by the developments at home like the renewed fighting with the Sēvuṇas[3]. At the same time the Telugu Chōḷa chief, Tikka I alias Gaṇḍagōpāla, seems to have moved against Sōmēśvara. According to Tikkana, the author of *Nirvasanōttara-Rāmāyaṇamu*, Tikkanṛipati alias Gaṇḍagōpāḷa subdued not only the Śambuvarāya, Chēdirāyā and Kāḍava chiefs but also the arrogant Sōmēśvara[4]. It is very likely that Tikkā's conquest of the hostile *maṇḍalikas* preceded his confliet with the Hoysaḷa ruler. In 1239 Tikka overpowered the Hoysaḷa army somewhere near Jambai (in the South Arcot district) and stabbed Vallāḷa (i.e., Hoysaḷa)[5]. Consequently Sōmēśvara undertook an expedition to the territory of Gaṇḍagōpala i.e., Tikka I[6] in 1240. But his efforts seem to have been very disappointing[7]. Probably taking advantage of this Kōpperuñjiṅga I also took the field against the

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[1]Prof. Derrett thinks that this campaign was connected with Māṛavarmaṇ Sundara I Pāṇḍya's second invasion of the Chōḷa empire, *op-cit*, p. 120. But the definite date of the Hoysaḷa invasion precludes such a possibility.

[2]Derrett, *op-cit.*, p. 120

[3]*ibid*, pp. 121 and 123.

[4]K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op-cit.*, pp. 134 and 443; Derrett, *op-cit.*, p. 122.

[5]439 of 1937-38. The Vallaḷa referred to here could not be Vīranarasiṁha. See K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op-cit.*, p. 443.

[6]*E. C.* Vol. VI, Kd. 100.

[7]Derrett, *op-cit.*, p. 122.

Hoysaḷa. According to an inscription from Vriddhāchalam[1], Kōpperuñjiṅga I defeated the Hoysaḷa army at Perambalūr, killed the *daṇḍanāyakas*, Kēsava, Harihara Yatipatidēvaṉ and Tikkāṉaip-perumāḷ, seized their women and treasures, and, in expiation of this act, made a gift to the temple at Vriddhāchalam. The astronomical data of the inscription point to the date A. D. 1241. The most interesting thing in this affair is the role of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja III. The fact that in spite of his subordination to the Chōḷa emperor, Tikka I alias Gaṇḍagōpāla waged a war with the Hoysaḷa and that the Chōḷa emperor did nothing to help the Hoysaḷas shows the virtual break-down of the Chōḷa-Hoysaḷa alliance. This is confirmed by the Hoysaḷa invasion in 1241 of the Vēdāraṇyam area (Tanjore dt.) and later of Kāṉanāḍu[2]. The shift in Chōḷa policy towards the Hoysaḷas was brought about very probably by Rājēndra III Chōḷa, now heir-apparent and by the growing resentment of the Chōḷa feudatories against the aggressive Hoysaḷa role in imperial affairs. Eventually this led to an open conflict between the Chōḷas and the Hoysaḷas. We shall see its details in the next section

Character and achievements of Kōpperuñjiṅga I :-

Kōpperuñjiṅga I seems to have been carefully brought up by his father, Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ. His learning was such that he could compose verses in Tamil. His love and patronage of Tamil learning made him call himself 'Pēṇu Sentamiḻ Vāḻappiṟanda Kāḍava Kōpperuñ-jiṅga' i.e., Kāḍava born to protect and foster Sentamiḻ[3]. There is

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 124; 73 of 1918.
[2] A Part of Pudukkottai state.
[3] *E. I.* Vol. XXIII, No. 27, v. 1.

some indication in the Vailūr record that he was conversant with Nandikkalambagam, a Tamil work of the 9th century A. D.[1]. His knowledge, if not practice, of the art of dancing is clear from his titles Bharatamvallaperumāḷ and Bharatam Vallāṉ[2]. He was an ardent devotee of Lord Śiva. Still he encouraged all creeds and sects. Further he was a patron of architecture and sculpture and the South *Gōpura* of the Chidambaram temple was built by him. Other details of his religious work and benefactions may be seen in the next chapter. Kōpperuñjiṅga I was a brave and resourceful general. His Vriddhāchalam record[3] shows his high regard for the traditional moral code of warfare. His capacity for leadership and organization was such that he could rally other feudatories and even foreigners against his imperial master. His political sagacity is clear from his regulated ambition. Though he did not aspire for any imperial status, he could not resist the temptation to assume high sounding titles like his fellow vassals. His relations with Rājarāja III Chōḷa after his restoration shows his moderation and prudence. He was an adept in diplomacy. He chose his allies carefully and maintained good relations with them throughout his career. In war and administration he was ably assisted by a band of devoted and able subordinates. His coadjutors like Sōḷakōṉ and Nilagaṅigaraiyar were deeply attached to him and continued their faithful service under his son also. In short, Kōpperuñjiṅga I laid the foundations of Kāḍava greatness.

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[1] *ibid*

[2] *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 69.

[3] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 124.

CHAPTER - VII

KAḌAVARĀYAS (*Contd*)

KŌPPERUÑJIṄGA II - (*A. D.* 1243 - 1279)

Kōpperuñjiṅga II alias Vāḷvallaperumāḷ was the son and successor of Kōpperuñjiṅga I alias Sāḍumperumāḷ. From his numerous inscriptions we know that he came to power sometime between 11th February and 30th July A. D. 1243[1]. He was a contemporary of Rājarāja III Chōḷa, Rājēndra III Chōḷa, Hoysaḷa Somēśvara, Rāmanātha, Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara II Pāṇḍya, and Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya and Kākatīya Gaṇapati. He was the same as Kāḍavakumāraṉ of the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai inscription[2]. Further, he is identical with [6]Pallavāṇḍār alias Vīrarvīraṉ Kāḍavarāyar who

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, Intro. p. XII.

[2] *S. I. I* Vol. VIII, No. 69; 480 of 1902-Vāḷvallaperumāḷ and Virarāyaṉ are also the titles of Kāḍavakumāraṉ.

conquered Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam' of the Mōrijōṇa[1] and Atti[2] inscriptions and with Kūḍal Ēḻiśaimōgaṉ Āḷappiṟandāṉ alias Pallavāṇḍār alias Kāḍavarāyar of the Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam record[3]. The identification of Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ with Pallavāṇḍār in whose time the Kāḍava power had attained a high position, is untenable for the reason that none of the titles of the former is found in the records of Pallavāṇḍār. Equally untenable is the view of Mr. K. S. Vaidyanathan who regards Pallavāṇḍar as the son of Paḷḷi Āḷappiṟandāṉ Ēḻiśaimōgaṉ alias Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyaṉ alias Nālutikkumveṉṟāṉ[4]. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri[5] and Mr. V. Venkatasubba Aiyar[6] identify Pallavāṇḍār with Aḻagiya Sīyaṉ Kōpperuñjiṅga I. But it is better to identify Pallavāṇḍār with Kōpperuñjiṅga II. Who was the Kāḍavarāyaṉ whose son was Pallavāṇḍār?. Why is his name not mentioned?. As the two chiefs had the same name the younger is referred to as Kāḍavarāyar *makaṉār* i.e., son of Kāḍavarāyar. Further, the reference to Pallavāṇḍār's possession of Kāñchi and the comparative silence of Kōpperuñjiṅga I's records on the conquests of the rulers of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam mentioned in some detail in Pallavāṇḍār's inscriptions make it certain that Kōpperuñjiṅga II must be identical with Pallavāṇḍār. But the conquests referred to must have taken place in the time of Kōpperuñjiṅga I[7].

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII No. 127.

[2] *ibid.* No. 125.

[3] *ibid* No. 130; *contra*, S.R. Balasubramaniam, *op.cit.*, p 36.

[4] *E. I.* XXVII, p. 91.

[5] *op.cit.*, p. 404.

[6] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII Intro. to Nos. 125, 127 and 130.

[7] For further details see below.

Kōpperuñjiṅga II had many surnames: Kāḍavakumāraṉ, Virudaril Vīraṉ, Āṭkoṇḍadēvaṉ, Kāṅgēyaṉ, Vīrarāyaṉ Vēṇāḍuḍaiyāṉ[1] Nichchaṅgamallaṉ, Vāḷvallaperumāḷ, Tamiḻnadukāttaperumāḷ, Bharatamvallaperumāḷ[2], Kaṉakasabhāpati - sabhāsarvakārya-sarvakāla - nirvāhaha, Bharatamalla, Sāhityaratnākara, Pallavakula Pārijāta, Kāḍavakula Chūḍāmaṇi, Avanipālanajāta, Gaṇḍa-bhaṇḍara-luṇṭaka. Chēdirāja-gridurga - migada, Kshīrāpagādakshiṇanāyaka, Kāvērī-Kāmuka, Peṇṇādī-nātha, Mallāpurīvallabha, Kañchipurī-kānta, Jagadēkavīra, conqueror of Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya, Chēdi, Karṇāṭa, Āndhra kings and Gaṇḍagōpāla[3], Vīrarvīraṉ, Pallavāṇḍār[4], Ēḻiśaimōgaṉ Pallavāṇḍār[5], Aḻagiyapallavaṉ alias Kachchiyarāyaṉ[6], Aḻagiyasīyaṉ alias Tamiḻnāḍukāttāṉ[7], Āṉaikku Arasuvaḷaṅgum Perumāḷ[8], Vīrapiratāpar. Bhuvanaikavīra. Aḻagiyapallava[9], Sarvajña, Kṛipāṇamalla[10] Kāḍavakulatilaka, Karṇarājamanamardana, Chōḷakulakamalākaradivākara, Pāṇḍyarāya-shtāpana - sūtradhāra, Sakalaguṇaratnākara.

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[1] Probably he was in charge of Vēṇādu i.e., the territory of Vēḷ Naṉṉaṉ in the N. Arcot dt.

[2] *S. I. I* Vol. VII No. 69.

[3] *S. I. I* Vol. XII, No. 120. Mr. V.Venkatasubba Aiyar wrongly ascribes this record to Kōpperuñjiṅga I. But its striking similarity with the Tripurāntakam inscription rules out such a possibility.

[4] *ibid*, No. 127.

[5] *ibid*, No. 130.

[6] *ibid*, No. 134.

[7] *ibid*, No. 174, also see *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 69.

[8] *S. I I.* Vol. VII, No. 206.

[9] *ibid*, No. 230.

[10] *ibid*, No. 246.

Mahārjasiṁha, Avanyavanasaṁbhavah, Niśśaṅkamalla[1], Aḻagiya-pallavaṉ, Kō-Nandipaṉmaṉ [2] and Kāñchi - nāyaka[3]. These titles have to be borne in mind in distinguishing the records of Kōpperuñjiṅga II from those of Kōpperuñjiṅga I. As already noted some of these surnames like Aḻagiyapallavaṉ and Aḻagiyasīyaṉ were borne by both the chiefs.

The earliest achievements of Kōpperuñjiṅga II are described in the Atti inscription[4], and the Mōrijōṇā[5] and Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam inscriptions[6] contain a stanza of the Atti record besides a few more surnames. The battle of Sēvūr is described in a poetical manner but the enemies of Pallavāṇḍār i.e., Kōpperuñjiṅga II are not mentioned. Sēvūr has been identified with Mēlsēvūr in the Tindivanam taluk of the South Arcot district[7]. There is another Sēvūr in the Vellore taluk of the North Arcot district. Probably the former Sēvūr where some Śambuvarāya inscriptions are found, is referred to in the Atti record. The adversaries of Kōpperuñjiṅga II at the battle must be either the Chēdirāyas or the Tirukkōyilūr region or the Śambuvarāyas. An inscription from Āttūr (Chingleput dt.) specifically refers to his conquest of a Chēdirāya[8]. We do not know if Kōpperuñjiṅga II had one or more enemies at Sēvūr.

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[1] *ibid*, No. 247.

[2] *ibid*, No. 261.

[3] *T. D. Inss.* Vol. I, No. 203.

[4] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 125.

[5] *ibid*, No. 127.

[6] *ibid*, No. 130.

[7] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, p. 62.

[8] *S. I. I* Vol. XII, No. 120.

As to the effect of the battle, the Kāḍava inscriptions give the impression that Pallavāṇḍār gained the entire Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. But this is undoubtedly an exaggerated claim. What seems probable is that the Kāḍava won a military victory and that he did not annex the territory of the conquered. The Tiruvaṇṇāmalai inscription[1] states that after defeating many kings and conquering their hill forts, Kāḍvakumāraṉ (i.e., Kōpperuñjiṅga II) engraved on the hill of Naṉṉaṉ (i.e., the present Parvata hills in the N. Arcot dt.) his status, the Haṉumāṉ banner and his military victories. This is only a general reference, and no light is thrown on the battle of Sēvūr.

As regards the date of the battle, it must have taken place some time after the restoration of Rājarāja III Chōḷa and before A.D 1240. The reference to the navy of Pallavāṇḍār is significant[2]. In the Āttūr[3] and Tripurāntakam[4] inscriptions, Kōpperuñjiṅga II claims to have destroyed the pride of the Karṇāta king and to have been a 'sun to the lotus tank of the Chōḷa family' and Chōḷapratishṭāchārya. The question is whether the Kāḍava fought any victorious battle against the Hoysaḷa, and, if so, alone or in league with other rulers. Already we saw how after the restoration of Rājarāja III Chōḷa, his relations with the Hoysaḷas deteriorated even to the point of hostility. The Hoysaḷa interest in maintaining the balance of power in the Tamil country, their intimate relations with the Pāṇḍyas, and the Herculean endeavours of Rājēndra III Chōḷa to rehabilitate his imperial fortunes

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 69.
[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. XII, No. 125.
[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. XII, No. 120.
[4] *ibid*, No. 247.

taking advantage of the weakness of Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara II Pāṇḍya, eventually led to a conflict between the Chōḷas and the Hoysaḷas. Attention has already been drawn to the Hoysaḷa invasion of the Vēdāraṇyam area and to their conquest of Kāṇanādu, both belonging to the Chōla emperor. An inscription from Srīraṅgam[1] of Rājēndra III Chōḷa dated 7th year (A. D. 1252) mentions his victory over Sōmēśvara[2]. Rājēndra III describes himself as 'death to the Karṇāṭa' king and claims that Vīrasōmēśvara, 'the wrestler on hill forts, placed on his leg the anklet of heroes'[3]. According to an undated inscription from Ākkūr (Tanjore dt.) of Kōpperuñjiṅga II, Aḻagiyapallavaṉ Vīrapratāpar[4] defeated and imprisoned the Hoysalas, collected tribute from the Pāṇḍyas, visited Sōḻamaṇḍalam and on his way back made pilgrimages to the holy places situated on the southern bank of the Kāvēri[5]. A Pāṇḍya inscription from Tiruveṇkāḍu (Tanjore dt.) refers to Kōpperuñjiṅga's fortifications built on the northern bank of the Kāvēri against the Kaṉṉaḍiyas i.e., the Hoysaḷas[6] That Kōpperuñjiṅga II supported the Chōḷa in the war against the Hoysaḷas, is easily inferred from his claims in the Āttūr and Tripurāntakam inscriptions[7]. On the other hand Sōmēśvara's

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[1] 64 of 1892.

[2] 420 of 1911.

[3] *vide*, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 442, Fn. 75.

[4] i.e., Kōpperuñjiṅga, II *vide* *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 230 dated 27th year. Mr. Venkatasubba Aiyar wrongly identifies Virapratāpar with Kōpperuñjiṅga I.

[5] *S. I I.*, Vol. XII, No. 129.

[6] 514 of 1918.

[7] *ante*, p. 142.

records call him 'Pāṇḍyakula samrakshṇa daksha dakshiṇabhuja'[1], thus showing his alliance with the Pâṇḍya. Inscriptions from the Pāṇḍya country confirm this view[2].

As regards the date of this conflict we do not have specific evidence. It must be placed between A. D. 1238 and 1251 i.e., after the death of Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya and before the accession of Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya. Already we saw how an inscription of 1252 refers to this. The fact that Sōmēśvara's inscriptions dated between 1242 and 1248 are conspicuously absent in the Chōḷa country suggests that the battle must have taken place sometime during that period, possibly during 1242-43 and that the enmity lasted for more than five years.

As regards Kōpperuñjiṅga II's conflict with the Telugu Chōḷas, the Āttūr inscription[3] dated 5th year refers to his plunder of the treasury of Gaṇḍagōpāla. Obviously the conflict must have happened by A. D. 1248 and was not connected with Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya's war with that Telugu Chōḷa chief. The Tirupati inscription of Kōpperuñjiṅga II specifically says that he conquered Vijaya and Vīra i.e., Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla and Vīragaṇḍagōpāla[4]. Besides gaining enormous booty, Kōpperuñjiṅga II seized Kāñchi from the Telugu

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[1] *E. C.* Vol. V, p. XXV.

[2] *C. L. I. P. S.* Nos. 518, 292 and 433 of 1930; 138 and 156 of 1894; 15 of 1912.

[3] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 120.

[4] *T. D. Inss.* Vol., I, p. 17.

Chōḷa chief[1]. The Chōḷa emperor does not appear to have participated in the war. In fact, no imperial control was exercised over that region as evidenced by the absence there of Chōḷa records after A. D. 1245[2]. But the Kāḍava possession of Kāñchi seems to have been of short duration and was followed by the re-establishment of the Telugu Chōḷa rule there[3], probably with the help of Kākatīya Gaṇapati[4]

By A. D. 1251 rapproachment seems to have taken place between the Hoysaḷas and the imperial Chōḷas[5]. Probably the aggressive policy of Jaṭāvarmaṇ Sundara I Pāṇḍya brought about this change in Hoysaḷa - Chōḷa relations. By 1258 Jaṭāvarman Sundara I Pāṇḍya had defeated the Hoysaḷa and Chōḷa rulers and subdued Kōpperuñjiṅga II[6]. Within the next three years the Pāṇḍya defeated Vīra-Gaṇḍagōpāla and Kākatīya Gaṇapati and performed *Vīrābhishēkam* at Nellore. It is very likely that after his defeat at the hands of Jaṭāvarmaṇ Sundara I Pāṇḍya, Kōpperuñjiṅga II became subordinate to the Pāṇḍya and assisted him in these campaigns. But by A.D.1261

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 120.

[2] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 435

[3] *S. I. I.* Vol. IV, Nos, 350, 358 and 359; 343, 393, 428, 537 and 538 of 1919.

[4] 26 and 27 of 1890. Jaṭāvarmaṇ Sundara I Pāṇḍya's inscription (*S. I. I.* Vol IV, No. 433) describes the Kākatīya king as the ruler of Kāñchi. Very probably the Telugu Chōḷa chief was then an ally of the Kākatīya king.

[5] T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 210; *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, Nos. 88 and 703; 49 of 1913 and 73 of 1937-38.

[6] *S. I. I.* Vol. V, No. 459.

Kōpperuñjiṅga II again changed his loyalty. In the Drākshārāma inscription he calls himself 'the executor of the commands of Gaṇapati Mahārāja,'[1]. Probably, this change in the attitude of the Kāḍava was due to his defeat at the hands of the Kākatīya general Ambadēva[2]. But the death of the Kākatīya emperor in the same year made Kōpperuñjiṅga ignore his subordination to him as the silence of the Tripurāntakam inscription on this point suggests. Further. the same record describes the Kāḍava as 'Pāṇḍyarāyasthāpana - sūtradhāra[3]. Obviously the Kāḍava must have again changed his allegiance to the Pāṇḍya. This view is confirmed by a Pāṇḍya record[4] describing Vīra Pāṇḍya's collection of tribute from the Kāḍava in 1267 at Chidambaram[5]. The Tirupati inscription of the Kāḍava points to the same conclusion when it states that brotherly relation existed between Kōpperuñjiṅga II and Sundara i.e., Jaṭāvarmaṇ Sundara I Pāṇḍya[6].

After this Kōpperuñjiṅga II appears to have continued as a Pāṇḍya vassal for the rest of his life. But, like Rājēndra III Chōḷa, he was allowed to rule over his territory subject to Pāṇḍya suzerainty. He issued records in his own name till his death in A. D. 1279. His relations with the contemporary, Bāṇa. Gaṅga, Chēdirāya and Śambuvarāya chieftains were friendly[7]. According to Dr. Venkata-

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[1] *S I I.* Vol. IV, Nos. 1341, 1342 and 1342b.

[2] *vide* 173 and 268 of 1905.

[3] *S I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 247.

[4] 192 of 1914.

[5] S. R. Balasubramaniam, *op.cit.*, p. 108.

[6] *vide*, *T. D. Inss.*, Vol. I, p. 17.

[7] *S. I. I* Vol. XII, Nos. 164, 191, 200, 202, 221, 234, 236, 240, 241; 241 of 1934-35; *S.I.I.* Vol. VIII, Nos. 76, 79 and 80.

ramanayya and Mr. M. Somasekharasarma, Kōpperuñjiṅga II's end came in 1279 in a battle somewhere in the neighbourhood of Nandalūr, Guddapah dt., when, at the instance of his Pāṇḍya overlord, he proceeded along with Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla against Ambadēva, the Telugu chief[1]. This view is highly probable. The history of the Kāḍavas after Kōpperuñjiṅga II is obscure. We know of only one chieftain of this dynasty. No. 508 of 1937-38 mentions a certain Rājanārāyaṇa Kāḍavarāyaṉ who may, on palaeographical grounds, be assigned to the 14th century. Sōḻakōṉ alias Perumāḷ Piḷḷai, his brother Vēnāḍuḍaiyāṉ and Piḷḷaiyār Nīlagaṅgaraiyar were Kōpperuñjiṅga II's most intimate coadjutors [2] and not, as Mr. K. S. Vaidyanathan wrongly thinks, his sons[3].

The successful career of Kōpperuñjiṅga II was due to his striking ability, political, military, diplomatic and administrative, to his military might, to his great wealth frequently mentioned in Pāṇḍya records and to his great subordinates. He called himself Tamilnāḍu kātta perumāḷ (one who saved Tamilnāḍu) because he fought victoriously against the Telugu and Kannaḍa rulers.

Administration :

From the Kāḍava inscriptions we know that in the time of Kōpperuñjiṅga I, the Kāḍava territory comprised the greater parts of

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[1] *The Early History of the Deccan*, p. 631, Fn. 1.

[2] *vide S. I. I.* Vol. XII, Nos. 154 and 167.

[3] *contra E. I.* Vol. XXVII, p. 91 and *A. R. E.* 1923-24, Pt. II, p. 99.

the South and North Arcot districts. His son ruled over a larger kingdom which besides the two districts, included portions of the Chingleput district and the northern part of the Tanjore district. The presence of Kōpperuñjiṅga II's inscriptions in the Sīrkāḻi, Māyavaram, Kumbakōṇam and even in Naṉṉilam taluks of the Tanjore district is of special significance[1]. Certainly the sphere of Kōpperuñjiṅga II's influence was wider than his kingdom. Sēndamaṅgalam in the Tirukkōyilūr taluk (S. A. Dt.) was the seat of his government. Now it is a small village with many monuments in ruin.

Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ, Kōpperuñjiṅga I and Kōpperuñjiṅga II assumed the title of Sakalabhuvaṇachakravarti notwithstanding their subordinate status - a common feature in a declining empire. It is interesting to note here that some of the surnames of Kōpperuñjiṅga I and Kōpperuñjiṅga II like Āḷappirandāṉ, Aḻagiyasīyaṉ, Sīyaṉ Pallavāṇḍāṉ and Pallavaṉ were also borne by the Śambuvarāyas[2].

The Kāḍavas followed the Chōḷa administrative system. In administration, as in war, the efforts of Kōpperuñjiṅga I and Kōpperuñjiṅga II were ably seconded by a band of devoted coadjutors, the most important among them being Sōḻakōṉ alias Perumāḷ Piḷḷai, his brother Vēṇāḍuḍaiyāṉ Piḷḷaiyār Nīlagaṅgaraiyar, his son, Chīnattaraiyaṉ, Toṇḍaimāṉ, Aṇiyaṉ, Mūvēndaraiyaṉ, Ilāḍattaraiyaṉ. The tank at Nelvāyppākkam (S A.dt.) was constructed in the time of Kōpperuñjiṅga I and its sluice was called Avaṉiyāḷappirandāṉ and its

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[1] *vide S I I.* Vol. XII, Intro. p. 20.

[2] 353 of 1923, 106 of 1912, 487 of 1921, 393 of 1922, 52 of 1919 and 428 of 1922. This suggests some connection between these two dynasties.

canal, Rājākkaḷtambirāṉ[1]. Despite intermittent warfare Kōpperuñjiṅga II was deeply interested in the well-being of his subjects and promptly redressed their grievances[2]. His inscription at Tiruvakkarai (S. A. dt.) mentions his construction of a sluice with a feeder- channel to the tank at Oḻugaṟai[3]. Another epigraph of this chief[4] states that he repaired the embankments, sluices and irrigation channels of the tank at Tribhuvaṇamādēvi. Other public works of this Kāḍava were Tamiḻnāḍukāttaperumāḷ-tank. Appaṉ tank, Vaḍivāḷvallaperumāḷ well, Kāḍavakumāraṉ tank, Perumāḷ tank, Nichchaṅgamallan tank and Kāṅgēyaṉ tank[5]. His general Sēṉai Narasiṅgapaṉmaṉ dug a tank for the merit of his grandmother[6]. Other Kāḍava public works of which adequate details are not available are Āḷappiṟandāṉ tank, Āṭkoṇḍāṉkal[7], Kāḍavarādittaṉ (Peruvaḻi) trunk road[8] and Kōpperuñjiṅgaṉ Car street[9]. It may be noted in passing that there was a measure called Sokkachchīyaṉkōl, obviously named after Kōpperuñjiṅga I[10].

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[1] 275 of 1916.

[2] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, Nos. 129 and 256.

[3] *S I I.* Vol. XII, No. 246.

[4] *ibid*, No. 126 is wrongly ascribed to Kōpperuñjiṅga I by Mr. V. Venkatasubba Aiyar.

[5] *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 69.

[6] 379 of 1937-38.

[7] Channel, 295 of 1939-40.

[8] 458 of 1921.

[9] Tiruvīdi, *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 154.

[10] *ibid*, No. 215.

Śaivism :

Like their imperial masters, the Kāḍavas were ardent votaries of Śaivism. Still they extended their benefactions to all persuasions. There are hundreds of inscriptions recording their gifts to temples. It is needless to list them all here, and we shall note the most important ones.

An inscription of Kulōttuṅga II dated 7th year (A. D. 1140) mentions the benefactions of Kachchiyarāyaṉ to *Eḻśśaimōgaṉ - maṭha* at Perundāmanallūr in Tirumuṉaippāḍi in the S. Arcot dt[1]. This chief was the brother of Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyaṉ alias Nālutikkumveṉṟāṉ and identical with Arasanārāyaṇaṉ Kachchiyarāyaṉ. Another record of the same Chōḷa dated 15th year (A. D. 1148) states that Paḷḷi Āḷappiṟandāṉ Ēḻiśaimōgaṉ alias Kulōttuṅgasōḷa Kāḍavarādittaṉ constructed the *Eḻiśaimōgaṉ Tirumaṇḍapam* in the Vēdapurīśvara temple at Tiruvottūr in the North Arcot dt.[2]

An inscription of Rājarāja II Chōḷa dated 6th year (A.D. 1152), refers to the construction of a hall in the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elavānāsūr in the S. Arcot dt. by Kūḍal Āḷappiṟandāṉ Mōgaṉ alias Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyaṉ Nālutikkumveṉṟāṉ[3]. Another epigraph of the same Chōḷa and year, mentions a gift of taxes by the same Kāḍava

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[1] 267 of 1939-40.

[2] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 150.

[3] 170 of 1906

chief[1]. A third epigraph of the same Chōḷa dated 8th year (A. D. 1154) refers to the erection of *Eḻiśaimōgaṉ Tirumaṇḍapa* and some repairs done by Āḷappiṟandāṉ Ēḻiśaimōgaṉ alias Kulōttuṅga-sōḻa Kāḍavarāyaṉ in the temple at Elavānāsūr[2].

An inscription of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa dated 3rd year (A. D. 1181), states that the entrance of the Kripāpurīśvara temple at Tiruveṇṇainallūr (S. A. dt.) was built by Kūḍal Arasanārāyaṇaṉ alias Kāḍavarāyaṉ[3]. Another inscription of the same Chōḷa from Tiruvadi (S. A. dt.) dated 8th year (A. D. 1185), gives the details of the precious stones in and the weight of one jewelled necklace presented by Kūḍal Arasanārāyaṇaṉ alias Āḷappiṟandāṉ Kaḍavarāyaṉ to the god of Tiruvīraṭṭāṉam-Uḍaiyār[4]. A third inscription of the same Chōḷa dated the same year, mentions the gift of silver pot by the same Kāḍava chief[5]. A fourth epigraph of the same Chōḷa dated 13th year (A.D. 1191) from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai records the gift of a jewel containing hundred pearls to the local Śiva temple by Kuḍal Arasanārāyaṇaṉ Āḷappiṟanḍāṉ alias Vīraśēkhara Kāḍavarāyaṉ[6]. A fifth epigraph of the same Chōḷa dated 13th year (A. D. 1191) from the same place, records the gift of an ornament containing pearls to the same temple by

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[1] 166 of 1906.

[2] 474 of 1937 - 38. This chief is identical with the preceding one.

[3] 474 of 1921. No. 390 of 1921 probably belongs to him.

[4] 391 of 1921. This chief is identical with Vīraśēkhara Kāḍavarāyaṉ.

[5] 467 of 1921.

[6] 581 of 1902; *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 21.

Achaḷakulōttamaṉ Āṭkoṇḍanāyakaṉ Kāḍavarāyaṉ[1]. This Kāḍava is identical with Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ.

An inscription of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa dated 30th year (A. D. 1208) from Elavānāsūr states that Āḷappiṟandāṉ Rājagambhīra Kāḍavarāyaṉ alias Aḻagiyapallavaṉ Sāḍumperumāḷ of Kūḍalūr constructed the *gōpura* of the Śiva temple[2]. Sāḍumperumāḷ was Kōpperuñjiṅga I. An epigraph of Kōpperuñjiṅga I dated 4th year (A. D. 1235), mentions his gift of a jewel containing precious stones, pearls and coral to the Śiva temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai[3]. Another epigraph of this Kāḍava dated 5th year mentions his gift of an extensive landed property to the same temple[4]. A third epigraph of the same Kāḍava dated the same year mentions his construction of the South *gōpura* of the Chidambaram temple - called *Sokkachchīyaṉ-tirunilai-Eḻugōpura-tiruvāsal*, and also the grant of land for that work[5]. A fourth inscription of the same Kāḍava dated 6th year records the gift of a grove called Aḻagiyapallavaṉ-tōppu[6]. A fifth epigraph of the same Kāḍava dated 1 th year records the gift of a village by the chief to a deity set up by his queen Aḻagiyapallavar Nāchchīyar in the temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai[7]. A sixth inscription of

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 329; 54 of 1903.

[2] 496 of 1937-38.

[3] 513 of 1902; *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 109.

[4] 500 of 1902; *S. I. I* Vol. VIII, No. 90.

[5] *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 51; 463 of 1902; Also *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 119.

[6] *S. I. I* Vol. XII, No. 121.

[7] 68 of 1945-46.

the same chief dated 16th year mentions his gift in the 15th year of a flower garden called *Sokkachchīyankamugu tirunandavanam* to the god of Chidambaram[1].

Some more gifts of Kōpperuñjiṅga I to the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai temple are described in a long verse inscription of his son[2]. They are, (1) ear-string (2) crown set with beaming gems (3) *Aṅgasudda* (Kavacha) (4) armlet (5) golden sacred wearing cloth (6) foot (cover) (7) neck-cover (8) ear-ornament of big gems (9) Avaṉiāḷappiṟandāṉ-*tiruvāsigai* (10) Lion-throne (11) *Kaṟpaga* tree (parhaps made of gold) (12) the ornament called Bharatamvallaperumāḷ containing rubies (13) a canopy of pearls (14) *Kūḍamañjaṉam* made of gold and fastened with fine rubies (15) one sacred wearing garment profusely filled with fine rubies to the goddess (16) one image of Muruga with his consorts and peacock[3].

The gifts of Kōpperuñjiṅga II to the same temple are (1) one sacred pavilion (*maṇḍapa*) called Ātkoṇḍadēvaṉ Vēṇāvuḍaiyāṉ (2) sacred bed-chamber made of god (3) a big pavilion where the sacred offerings had to be placed (4) a *Tirukkākkaḷḷi* (5) the pavilion called Avaṉiāḷappiṟandāṉ (6) a *silātala* made of stone (7) the great treasury called after Niśśaṅkamallaṉ (8) a car for the god (9) another for the goddess (10) the big Kāṅgēyaṉ maṭha (11) the large garden called Vāḷvallaperumāḷtōppu (12) the tank, Tamiḻnāḍu-kāṭṭaperumāḷ-tāḍāgam (13) the gardens, Kāḍavakumāraṉ-tōppu, Avaṉiāḷappiṟandāṉ-tōppu, Sēṉaittalaivaṉ-tōppu, (14) the maṭha

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 55.
[2] *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 69.
[3] See also *E. I.* Vol. XXVII, p. 104.

called Ammaimaḍam (15) the tank, Ayyaṉēri (16) the well called Vaḍivāḷvallaperumāḷkiṇaṟu (17) the tank called Kāḍavakumāraṉ (18) the lake, called Veṉṟumalaikoṇḍaperumāḷ, (19) the grove, called Bharatamvallaperumāḷ-tōppu, (20) the garden, called Vīrarāyaṉ, (21) the lake, named Niśśaṅkamallaṉ (22) the tank and maṭha named after Kāṅgēyaṉ[1].

A record of Kōpperuñjiṅga II dated 8th year (A. D. 1251) mentions the reconstruction of the Piḍāri (Kali) temple at Chidambaram[2]. The goddess was also knwon as Tillaivaṉamuḍaiya Paramēśvari[3]. The work must be over by the 10th year of the chief[4] The temple is now known as Tillaiammaṉkōvil.

In his 9th year Kōpperuñjiṅga II confirmed his father's grant to the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai temple of Aṇṇa-nāḍu and many places in other nadus as dēvadāṇa[5]. Another record of the same chief dated the same year, describes the provision made by Sōḻakōṉ for the maintenance of some flower-gardens at Chidambaram one of which was called Avaṉiāḷappiṟandāṉ[6]. A 10th year epigraph of the same chief records his provisions for festival and lamps in the temple at Neṟkuṉṟam[7]. A 13th year record of the same Kāḍava from Jambai (S. A. dt.) mentions an interesting grant to an individual whose brother Āṭkoṇḍāṉ cut off his

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[1] *ibid*, pp 105 and 106.
[2] *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 717.
[3] *ibid*, No. 706.
[4] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 159.
[5] *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 102.
[6] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 157.
[7] *ibid*, No. 163.

head so that the *nrittamaṇḍapa* in the temple at Jambai might be completed[1]. Another inscription of the same chief from Tiruveṇṇainallūr dated 18th year records that he exempted certain lands from payment of taxes and ordered this amount to be utilized for rearing fruit gardens for the god (Kripāpurīśvarar) and the balance, if any, for worship and repairs to the temple[2]. The record is signed by the Kāḍava himself and Toṇḍaimāṉ.

A 19th year epigraph of Kōpperuñjiṅga II from Chidambaram describes the provisios for the maintenance of a flower-garden called Vaḻiyaḍimaikoṇḍāṉ[3]. Similar provision was also made in the same year for another flower-garden endowed by Gaṅgōḷi Tiruchchiṟṟambalamuḍaiyār alias Uḍaiyār Īśvaraśivar who belonged to the Southern Rāḍhā Country in Uttarāpātha[4].

The undated Tripurāntakam inscription of Kōpperuñjiṅga II besides mentioning the Tulārōhaṇa ceremony performed by him, describes him as *Kaṇakasabhāpati-nātha-Saraṇāravinda Madhukarāyamānāṉ* (i.e., a devotee at the feet of the god at Chidambaram) and gives details of his construction of the East *gōpura* of that temple and other monuments[5]. It is interesting to note that in the 25th year of this chief a shrine called Āḷappiṟandīśvaram was erected in the temple at Tirumaṅgalakkuḍi (Tanjore dt.) by one of his subordinates[6].

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[1] *ibid* No. 178; 119 of 1906.

[2] 432 of 1921.

[3] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 209.

[4] i.e., the territory to the north of Ajaya in Bengal. *ibid*, No. 216.

[5] *ibid*, No. 247.

[6] 226 of 1927.

Another epigraph of this Kāḍava from Brahmadēśam (S. A. Dt.) dated 27th year records a gift of land in order to conduct a festival on the day of Tiruvōṇam, the natal star of the chief and for offerings to the god during the service (called) *Aḷagiyapallavaṉ Sandhi* instituted in his name and for repairs to the temple[1]. In short, Kōpperuñjiṅga II was a staunch Śaiva and extended his benefactions to numerous temples from Drākshārāmam to Madura[2]. It may be noted here that Kōpperuñjiṅga II's sister Mīṭṭāṇḍār Nāchchiyār alias Nambirāṭṭiyār Nāchchiyār richly endowed the temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai[3].

Vaishṇavism :

In spite of their ardency in Śaivism, the Kāḍava rulers had been very liberal to other sects like Vaishṇavism and Jainism. An epigraph of Rājarāja II Chōḷa dated 6th year (A. D. 1152) records the gift by Āḷappiṟandāṉ Ēḻiśaimōgaṉ alias Kulōttungasōḻak kāḍavarāyaṉ of some taxes to the Vishṇu temple at Srīmushṇam in the South Arcot district[4]. Another inscription of the same Chōḷa dated 12th year registers gift of tax-free land by *Aḻkoḷḷi* Kāḍavarāyar (i.e., Āḻkoḷḷi II) for worship ond offerings to the images of Tiruvāykkulattāḻvār and his consort set up by him in the temple of Vāikuṇḍattu

[1]*S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 230.

[2]*ibid*, No. 247.

[3]*S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, Nos 77, 78 and 98. No. 488a of 1902 wrongly describes this lady as the queen of Sāḍumperumāḷ i.e., Kōpperuñjiṅga I. But the text in *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII clearly states that she was the daughter of Sāḍumperumāḷ.

[4]232 of 1916.

Perumāḷ at Tiruveṇṇainallūr for being blessed with a son[1]. Another inscription from the same place states that the shrine of Aḻagiyapallavar Viṇṇagar Emperumāṉ in the same temple was built by the wife of Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ[2]. Obviously the shrine was named after Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ who was also known as Aḻagiyapallavaṉ. Kōpperuñjiṅga I made provision for its maintenance[3]. A record of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa dated 35th year refers to the image of the goddess of Periyapirāṭṭiyār set up in the temple of Vaikuṇḍattu Emberumāṉ at Tiruveṇṇainallūr by the mother of Aḻagiyapallavaṉ Kōpperuñjiṅgan[4]. Certainly the lady must be identical with the one mentioned above.

An undated inscription of Kōpperuñjiṅga I from Pullūr (S. A. dt.) mentions the erection of the Vishnu temple of Sokkachchīya Viṇṇagarāḻvār by one of his subordinates[5]. An inscription of Kōpperuñjiṅga II dated 11th year from Tiruveṇṇainallūr refers to the renovation of the Vaikuṇḍattu Perumāḷ temple and to the copying of the old inscriptions on the *vimāṇa* when it was pulled down[6]. In 1261 the same Kāḍava made a gift to the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkōyilūr[7]. A *Gōpura* of the Vishṇu temple at Tiruvēndipuram (Tiruvayindipuram) in the S. Arcot district, was constructed by Vēṇaḍuḍaiyāṉ, brother of Sōḻakōṉ, for the merit of Kōpperuñjiṅga II[8].

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1 *S. I. I* Vol. XII, No. 170.
2 *ibid.* No. 257.
3 *ibid,*
4 487 of 1921.
5 287 of 1939-40.
6 *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 170.
7 *ibid,* No. 213.
8 *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 770; 146 of 1902.

Jainism:

The Kāḍava patronage of Jainism is clear from their records. Tiru narungoṇḍai or Tirunaṟungoṉṟai in the Tirukkōyilūr taluk of the South Arcot district, is one of the important places of pilgrimage for the Jains of the Tamil country. An undated inscription from this place assignable to the 12th century, states that the image of Kachchi-Nāyakkar was endowed by Āḷappiṟandāṉ Mōgaṉ Kachchiyarāyar at Tirunaṟuṅgoṇḍai[1]. The image should have been installed before A. D. 1137 as an inscription of that year refers to it[2]. The Kāḍava chief mentioned above was the same as Arasanārāyaṇaṉ Kachchiyarāyaṉ, the younger brother of Nālutikkumveṉṟa Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyaṉ.

Another inscription from the same place dated 4th year of Kulōttuṅga II Chōḷa (A. D. 1137) records a gift of paddy by Āḷappiṟandāṉ Mōgaṉ alias Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Kāḍavarāyaṉ for offerings to the image of Kachchi Nāyaṉār[3]. The image of Kachchi Nāyaṉār is undoubtedly the same as Kachchi-Nāyakkar mentioned above. The Kāḍava chief referred to here was the brother of Āḷappiṟandāṉ Mōgaṉ Kachchiyarāyaṉ of the preceding record. A third inscription from the same place dated 5th year of Rājarāja II Chōḷa (A.D. 1151) registers a gift of certain taxes by the same Kāḍava chief[4]. A fourth

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[1] 319 of 1939-40. The inscription is found on the pedestal of the smaller bronze image of Chandranatha.

[2] 311 of 1939-40.

[3] 311 of 1939-40.

[4] 313 of 1939-40.

epigraph from the same place dated 10th year of the same Chōḷa, records a gift of land by Āḷappiṟandāṉ Ēḷiśaimōgaṉ Kāḍavarāyaṉ for a lamp before god Pārśvanāthaśvāmin in the (Jain) Mēlappaḷḷi at Tirunaṟuṅgoṇḍai[1]. The donor is identical with the Kāḍava mentioned in the preceding record.

Yet another inscription from the same place dated 9th year of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa (A. D. 1187), found in the Appāṇḍanātha temple records a gift of taxes by Arasanārāyaṇaṉ Āḷappiṟandāṉ alias Vīraśēkhara Kāḍavarāyaṉ to the Nārpattennāyira Perumpaḷḷi at Tirunaṟungoṇḍai[2]. Vīraśēkhara Kāḍavarāyaṉ was the father of Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ.

Siṟṟāmūr in the South Arcot district is another important Jain holy place and contains many monuments. There is an epigraph in verse in the Malainātha shrine at Siṟṟāmūr. It records a gift by a Kāḍava princess who was the queen of a Chōḷa king[3]. The record may be ascribed to the time of Kōpperuñjiṅga I. Tiruparuttikuṉṟam in the Chingleput district is another important Jain centre. An undated incomplete inscription found in the Trailōkyanātha temple states that the wall on which the record is found was built by Aḷagiyapallavaṉ[4]. This Aḷagiyapallavaṉ was most probably Kōpperuñjiṅga II.

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[1] *S. I. T. I.* Vol. I, No. 74.

[2] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 1011; 381 of 1902; *S.I.T.I.* Vol.I, No.71

[3] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 830; 203 of 1902.

[4] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 259.

Learning :

Āḻkoḷḷi II Kāḍavarkōṉ was a lover of Tamil learning and his Tīrttanagiri record[1] is a fine Tamil verse. It is not definitely known if this Kāḍava is the hero of the Kalambagam composed by Pugaḻēndi, a contemporary of Oṭṭakkūttaṉ and Kulōttuṅga II Chōḷa[2]. The Vriddhāchalam and Tiruveṇṇainallūr inscriptions[3] show that Arasanārāyaṇaṉ Āḷappiṟandāṉ Vīraśēkhara Kāḍavarāyaṉ was a patron of Tamil poets[4]. The verses are in Sandhaviruttam, Kochchakakkalippā, Kaliviruttam, veṇbā and Kaṭṭaḷaïkalitturai metres. A few more verse-epigraphs of this chief are found at Vriddhāchalam and Tiruvadi[5].

Kōpperuñjiṅga I and his son were noted for their learning and for patronage of learning. The Vailūr record of Kōpperuñjiṅga I[6] is a remarkable one containing a prose passage followed by five beautiful verses in Tamil. He was himself a poet[7] calling himself 'Pēṇu-sentamiḻ-vāḻappiranda Kāḍava' i.e., the Kāḍava born to protect and foster Sentamiḻ[8]. The Karandai verses also belong to the same

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 262.

[2] Sangupulavar (Ed) *Vikramasōḻaṉulā* p. 76.

[3] *S. I. I* Vol. XII, Nos. 263 and 264-both contain the same verses.

[4] *ibid.*

[5] 99 of 1934-35 and 390 of 1921.

[6] *E. I.* Vol. XXIII, No. 27

[7] *ibid* p. 175 Fn.

[8] *ibid* ll 3-7.

Kāḍava[1]. Kōpperuñjiṅga II was not only a patron of learning, Tamil and Sanskrit, but also a poet. The Triupati inscriptions[2] describe him as a Kavi-Sarvabhauma (capable poet) and a giver of munificent gifts. The Tripurāntakam inscription describes him as Sarvajña Khaḍgamalla[3] and the Āttūr record calls him Sāhityaratnākara[4]. The Atti inscription which belongs to him consists of six verses in Kaṭṭaḷaikalitturai metre and is identical with the Mōrijōṇā and Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam epigraphs[5] It is possible that he himself composed these verses. The Tirukkaḍaiyūr verse-epigraph[6] also belongs to him. The Tiruvaṇṇāmalai inscription[7] is the largest verse-epigraph of this Kāḍava describing in *Ahavaṟpā* metre his as well as his father's benefactions to the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai temple. This and other records show that Kōpperuñjiṅga II must have patronised many poets. Further, his patronage of Sanskrit learning is clear from the Āttur[8], Tribhuvaṇai[9], Tripurāntakam[10] and Tiruvakkarai[11] inscriptions, some of which are wholly in Sanskrit Very probably Kōpperuñjiṅga II possessed a good knowledge of Sanskrit.

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[1] S. R. Balasubramaniam, *op.cit.*, pp. 156-60.

[2] *T D. Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Nos. 226 and 227.

[3] *S. I I.* Vol. XII, No. 247.

[4] *ibid*, No. 120.

[5] *ibid*, Nos. 125, 127 and 130.

[6] *ibid*, No. 265.

[7] *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 69.

[8] *S. I I.* Vol. XII, No. 120.

[9] *ibid*. No. 126.

[10] *ibid*. No. 247.

[11] *ibid*. No. 246.

Architecture :

Like other Chōḷa feudatories, the Kāḍavas built temples, *gōpuras* and *maṇḍapas* some of which still remain in good condition. An inscription of Kulōttuṅga II Chōḷa dated 1?th year (A. D. 1148) from Vriddhāchalam states that Paḷḷi Āḷappiṟandāṉ *Eḻiśaimōgaṉ* alias Kulōttuṅgasōḻakkāḍavarādittaṉ constructed the *Eḻiśaimōgaṉ tirumaṇḍapa* in the Vriddhagirīśvarar temple[1]. Another inscription from Elavānāsūr dated 6th year of Rājarāja II Chōḷa (A. D. 1152) records the construction of a hall by Kūḍal Āḷappiṟandāṉ Mōgaṉ alias Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyaṉ Nālutikkumveṉṟāṉ in the local Śiva temple[2]. As stated above, this Kāḍava chief is identical with the one mentioned above. From another inscription found at the same plaee[3] we know that the hall was called *Eḻiśaimōgaṉ-tirumaṇḍapa* and that the chief effected some repairs.

An undated epigraph from Vriddhāchalam states that Arasanārāyaṇaṉ Āḷappiṟandāṉ alias Vīrāśēkhara Kāḍavarāyaṉ built a *maṇḍapa* in the local Śiva temple[4]. An inscription of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa dated 3rd year (A.D 1181) states that the *gōpura* entrance of the Śiva temple at Tiruveṇṇainallūr was erected by Kūḍal Mōgaṉ Āḷappiṟandāṉ Arasanārāyaṇaṉ alias Kāḍavarāyaṉ[5]. As noted above, this chief is identical with Vīraśēkhara Kāḍavarayaṉ.

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 150.

[2] 170 of 1906.

[3] 474 of 1937-38.

[4] 102 of 1934-35.

[5] 477 of 1921.

Another epigraph of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa dated 30th year (A. D. 1208) from Elavānāsūr states that Āḷappiṟandāṉ Rājagambhīra Kāḍavarāyaṉ alias Aḻagiya Pallavaṉ Sāḍumperumāḷ of Kūḍalūr constructed the *gōpura* of the local Siva temple[1]. Sāḍumperumāḷ was the same as Kōpperuñjiṅga I[2]. The same chief built the South *gōpura* of the temple at Chidambaram and named it after himself-*Sokkachchīyaṉ-tirunilai eḻugōpuram*[3]. The construction was in progress in A. D. 1236. According to Mr. S. R. Balasubramaniam the same *gōpura* was called *Sundarapāṇḍyaṉ-tirunilai eḻugōpuram* in the time of Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya[4]. Mr. James. C. Harle, who flatly denies the theory of two Kōpperuñjiṅgas, thinks that the East and South *Gōpuras* were built by one chief.[5] Obviously this is untenable.

An epigraph from Chidambaram of Kōpperuñjiṅga II dated 8th year (A. D. 1251) refers to the construction of the Piḍāri temple[6] now known as Tillaiammaṉkōyil. The work was over by the 10th year of the chief[7]. The Tirukkāmīśvaram-Uḍaiyār temple at Villiyaṉūr (Pondicherry State) was renovated in the 8th year of Kōpperuñjiṅga II[8]. An undated inscription from Cuddalore

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[1]496 of 1937-38.

[2]*ante* p. 125.

[3]*S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 119.

[4]*op.cit.*, p. 119.

[5]*Temple Gateways in South India* - pp. 64 and 65.

[6]*S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 717; 401 of 1908.

[7]*S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 159.

[8]185 of 1936-37.

(S. Arcot dt.) records the construction of the *gōpura* of the Pāṭalīśvara temple for the merit of the same Kāḍava chief[1]. Similarly, the Perunagar temple (Chingleput dt.) was built for the merit of Aḻagiya-pallavan Kō-Nandipaṉmar i. e., Kōpperuñjiṅga II[2]. The renovation of the Vaikuṇḍattu Perumāḷ temple at Tiruveṇṇainallūr begun in the time of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa[3] went on in the time of Kōpperuñjiṅga II[4]. An undated epigraph from Tiruvayindipuram (S. Arcot dt.) of Kōpperuñjiṅga II records the construction of the western *gōpura* of the local Vishnu temple by the brother of Sōḻakōṉ[5].

The undated Tripurāntakam inscription of Kōpperuñjiṅga II[6] describes in detail the construction of the East *gōpura* of the Natarāja temple at Chidambaram. The inscription states that he built this *gōpura* 'resembling mount Mēru from the riches obtained by the conquest of his enemies and called it after his own name. The decorations on the four sides of this *gōpura* are said to have been made with the booty acquired by subduing the four quarters and from the riches used in his Tulārhōaṇa ceremony'[7]. The same Kāḍava chief built three *maṇḍapas* in the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai temple and one of them was known as Avaṉiāḷappiṟandāṉ-*tirumaṇḍapa*[8]. An undated

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[1] 146 of 1902.

[2] 355 of 1923.

[3] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 949.

[4] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 170.

[5] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 770.

[6] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 247.

[7] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, p. 154.

[8] *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 69.

incomplete inscription from Nallūr (S. Arcot dt.) states that the gateway of the Sabhā in the local Śiva temple was the gift of Āḷappiṟandāṉ Kōpperuñjiṅgaṉ[1]. This Kāḍava chief was very probably Kōpperuñjiṅga II. As regards the Kāḍava monuments at Śēndamaṅgalam (S. Arcot dt.), their capital, Mr. V. Venkatasubba Aiyar observes 'The huge temple-fort at Śēndamaṅgalam now in ruins with vestiges of rampart walls, moat, palace, buildings and bathing pools spread all over the place is a silent testimony to this day of the glory of this small but important Kāḍava principality'[2].

Dance and Music:

The two Kōpperuñjiṅgas were noted for their knowledge and patronage of the art of dancing. Both the chiefs were known as Bharatamvallaperumāḷ[3]. The Āttūr record describes Kōpperuñjiṅga II as Bharatamalla[4]. While the Drākshārama inscription describes him as Kalā-nāttākya-vēdām-pūdi, Pratārnaya Parīṇaṉ, Sairasa-sāhitya-sākara-sāmyātriyam, the Tripurāntakam record calls him Paratārṇava-karṇātāran, Sarvagña Sāhityaratnākara etc[5]. Appropriately enough the inner walls of the east and west *gōpuras* of the Chidambaram temple bear fine images illustrating the various dancing postures. The Grantha inscriptions above them are mostly illegible[6].

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[1] 165 of 1940.

[2] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, Intro. p. XV.

[3] *S I. I* Vol. VIII, No. 69.

[4] *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 120.

[5] *S I. I.* Vol.IV. Nos.1341, 1342 and 1342a; *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 247; S. R. Balasubramaniam, *op.cit.*, p. 115.

[6] *vide*, *A. R. E.* 1914, Pt. II, pp. 82 and 88.

Conclusion :

To conclude, the Kāḍavas or Kāḍavarāyas had been feudatory to the Chōḷas from the time of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa (1070-1120) and had close matrimonial relations with the imperial family. We saw the probability of Kāḍava assistance to Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa in his Ceylonese and Kaliṅga wars. The military achievements of Nālutikkumveṇṛān Ēḻiśaimōgaṇ alias Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyaṇ are not known to us. Nor do we know for certain the circumstances in which his brother Arasanārāyaṇaṇ Kachchiyarāyaṇ defeated the Raṭṭar and captured valāpi. Similarly, the reasons for Vīraśēkhara Kāḍavarāya's conflict with the Adiyamāṇ and other chiefs are unknown. Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ's career contributed very much to the military might of the Kāḍavas though we lack adequate details of it.

There is no doubt that there were two Kōpperuñjiṅgas, father and son. Under Kōpperuñjiṅga I the Kāḍavas tried to become independent, taking advantage of the incompetence and weakness of Rājarāja III Chōḷa and the rise of the Pāṇḍyas under Māṛavarmaṇ Sundara I Pāṇḍya. But the timely Hoysaḷa intervention foiled the Kāḍava efforts. Still, the defeat and imprisonment of Rājarāja III Chōḷa by Kōpperuñjiṅga I was a serious blow to the prestige and power of the declining Chōḷa power and, to a certain extent, it was responsible for the heavy reliance of the Chōḷa on the Hoysaḷa military might. Kōpperuñjiṅga I's reconciliation with Rājarāja III Chōḷa was more formal than real and was certainly intended to check the growth of Hoysaḷa power in the Tamil country. The virtual independence of the two Kōpperuñjiṅgas since 1232 is clear from their inscriptions.

In the time of Rājēndra III Chōḷa, the Chōḷa-Kāḍava relations improved further. The battle of Sēvūr won by Kōpperuñjiṅga II, most probably against other Chōḷa feudatories, must have made him still more powerful. Kōpperuñjiṅga II supported Rājēndra III Chōḷa against the Hoysaḷas and the Pāṇḍyas. But, the *digvijaya* of Jaṭavarmaṇ Sundara I Pāṇḍya resulted in Kōpperuñjiṅga II becoming a Pāṇḍya vassal, like Rājēndra III Chōḷa. But the virtual independence of the Kadavas except in external affairs continued undiminished. The history of the Kāḍavas after A. D. 1279 is totally obscure.

The Kāḍava religious policy of supporting all creeds shows the catholicity of their religious outlook. They were noted patrons of Tamil and Sanskrit, and some like Kōpperuñjiṅga I and his son Kōpperuñjiṅga II, were themselves poets. Their contribution to architecture and other arts deserves special attention.

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CHAPTER - VIII

THE MALAIYAMĀṆS

The Malaiyamāṇs of Tirukkōyilūr region in the South Arcot district were feudatory to the Chōḷas from the time of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa. They were also known as Chēdirāyas, Kōvalarājaṇ or Kōvalarāya, Malaiyaṇ and Malaiyakularāyaṇs[1]. Their connections with the Malaiyamāṇs of the Saṅgam period are not clear. That the later Malaiyamāṇs belonged to the Vaṇṇiya community is clear from some of their records[2].

There were several Malaiyamāṇ families. Some of them ruled from Tirukkōyilūr and others from Kiḷiyūr in the same taluk. Since the available evidence about their history is inadequate it is difficult to proceed on dynastic basis as we did in the case of other dynasties. There is much uncertainty about their genealogy and chronology.

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[1] Chedirāya was also a general title bestowed on others by the Chōḷa emperors - vide 297 of 1912.

[2] 315 of 1921; 381 of 1937-38 and 171 of 1934-35.

We shall now see the political and military role of these chiefs in the Chōḷa empire. Inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa mention several Malaiyamāṉ chiefs :

(1) Adhirājēndra Kōvalarāyaṉ alias Chadiraṉ Nānūṟṟuvaṉ[1]

(2) Kiḷiyūr Maḷaiyamāṉ Periyauḍaiyāṉ alias Rājarāja Chēdirāyaṉ[2]

(3) Chadiraṉ Malaiyamāṉ alias Rājēndrasōḻa Malaiyamāṉ

(4) Kiḷiyūr Malaiyamāṉ Sūriyaṉ Brahmasahāyaṉ alias Malaiyakularājaṉ[4]

(5) Malaiyamāṉ Sūriyaṉ Maṟavaṉ Sūriyaṉ alias Malaiyakularājaṉ of Kiḷiyūr[5]

(6) Kiḷiyūr Malaiyamāṉ Sūriyaṉ Sāvanasahāyaṉ alias Malaiyakularāsaṉ[6]

(7) Malaiyamāṉ Nānūṟṟuvaṉ Malaiyaṉ alias Rājēndrasōḻa Chēdirāyaṉ of Kiḷiyūr[7]

(8) Sagirāyaṉ Aṉūppvūaṉ alias Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Malaiyakularāyaṉ[8]

Of these the first, Adhirājēndra Kōvalarāyaṉ (c. A. D. 1074-c. 1100) was the earliest Malaiyamāṉ feudatory of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa. It is not known if he was a feudatory of Adhirājēndra, the predecessor of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa. Malaiyamāṉ

[1]*S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 875; 247 of 1902.
[2]246 of 1902.
[3]419 of 1909 and 376 of 1908.
[4]*S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 989; 359 of 1902.
[5]*S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 133; 121 of 1900.
[6]*S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 879; 251 of 1902.
[7]133 and 161 of 1934-35; 375 of 1908; 388 of 1909.
[8]430 of 1937-38.

Nānūṟṟuvaṉ Malaiyaṉ alias Rājēndrasōḻa Chēdirāyaṉ of Kiḷiyūr (No.7) (c. A. D. 1100 - c. 1130) seems to be the successor of Adhirājēndra Kōvalarāyaṉ. He was a vassal of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḻa and his successor Vikrama Chōḻa. Kiḷiyūr Malaiyamāṉ Periyauḍaiyāṉ alias Rājarāja I Chēdirāyaṉ (c. A. D. 1076-1100) was another feudatory of Kulōttuṅga I. He should not be confused with his namesake, a vassal of Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttuṅga III Chōḻa. (No. 3) Chadiraṉ Malaiyamāṉ alias Rājēndrasōḻa Malaiyamāṉ (c. A. D. 1055 - c. 1080) must have been a very important chieftain, and the three Malaiyakularāyaṉ chiefs (Nos. 4, 5 and 6) mentioned above[1], made individual gifts for his merit in the year A. D. 1080. The relationship of Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Malaiyakularāyaṉ to the other Malaiyakularāyaṉ chiefs is not clear. We know nothing about the political or military role of these chiefs in the reign of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḻa. Still, the fact that they were feudatory to him even in the very early years of his reign is of some significance. It is possible that they assisted him in stabilizing his position as Chōḻa emperor. It may be noted in this connection that Kulōttuṅga I Chōḻa called his throne Chēdirājaṉ[2].

The records of Vikrama Chōḻa mention the following Malaiyamāṉ chiefs :

(1) Kiḷiyūr Malaiyamāṉ Vikramasōḻa Chēdirāyaṉ[3]

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, Nos. 989, 133 and 879. The three seem to be brothers.

[2] 233 of 1916.

[3] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 915; 286 of 1902; 349 of 1921 and 371 of 1908.

(2) Malaiyaṉ Mallaṉ alias Vikramasōḻa Malaiyaṉ[1]

(3) Malaiyamāṉ Nāṉūṟṟuvaṉ Malaiyaṉ alias Rājēndrasōḻa Chēdirāyaṉ[2]

(4) Malaiyamāṉ Rāmaṉ Sūriyaṉ alias Rājēndrasōḻa Malaiyakularāyaṉ[3]

Of these No. 1. Kiḷiyūr Malaiyamāṉ Vikramasōḻa Chēdirāyaṉ (c. A. D. 1100 - c 1133) seems to be the successor of Periyauḍaiyāṉ alias Rājarāja (1) Chēdirāyaṉ, a vassal of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa. The *Vikramasōḻaṉulā* of Oṭṭakkūttaṉ refers to a Malaiyamāṉ chief by name 'Chēdittirunāḍar-sēvakaṉ' who conquered the 'Karunāṭar' i.e., the Kaṉṉaḍas[4]. Obviously the Malaiyamāṉ chief should have participated in Vikrama Chōḷa's campaign in Gaṅgavāḍi resulting in the re-establishment of Chōḷa rule there. This Chēdi chief may be identified with Vikramasōḻa Chēdirāyaṉ. The second chief appears to be a subordinate of Vikramasōḻa Chedirāyaṉ.

The third chief, Malaiyamāṉ Nāṉūṟṟuvaṉ Malaiyaṉ alias Rājēndrasōḻa Chēdirāyaṉ of Kiḷiyūr (c. A. D. 1100 - c. 1130) was a feudatory of both Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa and Vikrama Chōḷa. He was the father-in-law of Malaiyamāṉ Rāmaṉ Sūriyaṉ alias Rājēndrasōḻa

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[1]310 of 1939-40 and *S. I. T. I.* Vol. I, No 73.

[2]373 of 1908; *S. I. T. I.* Vol. I, Nos. 44 and 112; *ibid* Vol. III, No. 1214.

[3]177 of 1906; 401 of 1909

[4]Pandita Vidwan Sangu Pulavar (Ed.), *Vikramasōḻaṉulā* p. 83 ll. 167-68.

Malaiyakularāyaṉ of Kiḷiyūr[1], also a vassal of Vikrama Chōḷa. No information is available about the political or military activities of these chiefs.

Inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga II Choḷa and Rājarāja II Chōḷa mention the following Malaiyamāṉ feudatories: (1) Vikramasōḻa Kōvalarāyaṉ[2] He was the son of Vikramasōḻa Chēdirāyaṉ noted above. (2) Periyauḍāiyāṉ alias Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Chēdirāyaṉ also known as Kiḷiyūr Malaiyamāṉ Malaiyaṉ and Attimallaṉ Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Chēḍirāyaṉ (c. A. D. 1130 - c. 1155)[3]. It is not known for certain if he was the successor of Malaiyamāṉ Nāṉūṟṟuvaṉ Malaiyaṉ alias Rājēndrasōḻa Chēdirāyaṉ, a vassal of Vikrama Chōḷa noted above. (3) Attimallaṉ Edirilisōḻa Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ (c. A. D. 1142 - c. 1170), the son of Periyauḍaiyāṉ Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Chēdirāyaṉ (noted above), was another feudatory of Kulōttuṅga II Chōḷa[4]. Attimallaṉ Sokkapperumāḷ alias Rājagambhīraṉ of Kiḷiyūr (c. A. D. 1155 - c. 1170) was a Malaiyamāṉ feudatory of Rājarāja II Chōḷa[5]. Another feudatory of the same Chōḷa emperor was Kiḷiyūr Malaiyamāṉ Periyauḍaiyāṉ Nīrēṟṟāṉ alias Rājarāja Malaiyakularāyaṉ (c.A.D. 1159-c.1170)[6] He figures in the reign of Rājādhirēja II Chōḷa. His relationship to Malaiyamāṉ Rāmaṉ Sūriyāṉ alias Rājendrasōḻa Malaiyakularāyaṉ,

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[1] 401 of 1909 and 177 of 1096.

[2] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 914; 285 of 1902.

[3] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII. Nos. 136, 918 and 919; 135 of 1934-35; 259 and 223 of 1936-37.

[4] 135 of 1934-35.

[5] 411 of 1909 and 317 of 1939-40; Sokkapperumāḷ and Rājagambhīra were the titles of Rājarāja II Chōḷa.

[6] 163 of 1906

a feudatory of Vikrama Chōḷa, is not known. He seems to be different from Kiḷiyūr Malaiyamāṉ Sūriyadēvaṉ Nīrēṟṟāṉ alias Rājarāja Malaiyakularāyaṉ also called Edirigaḷnāyaṉ[1], a notable feudatory of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa, because the former never bore the name Sūriyaṉ or Suriyadēvaṉ. Inscriptional or literary evidence throws no light on the political career of these chiefs.

From the records of Rājādhirāja II Chōḷa we know the following Malaiyamāṉ chiefs:

(1) Attimallaṉ Sokkapperumāḷ alias Rājagambhīra Chēdirāyaṉ (c. A. D. 1155 - c. 1170)[2]. As noted above, he was a vassal of Rājarāja II Chōḷa.

(2) Malaiyamāṉ Periyauḍaiyāṉ Iraiyūraṉ alias Rājarāja II Chēdirāyaṉ of Kiḷiyūr also known as Saṟṟukkuḍādāṉ (c. A. D. 1167 - c. 1185)[3]. He is very probably identical with Oṟṟiyāḻvār Pulavaraḍiyāṉ alias Rājarāja Chēdirāyaṉ[4]. He was a prominent and powerful vassal holding a high military pos tion[5]. He married Bhūmāḻvi, the

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[1] 178 of 1906; 498 of 1937-38.

[2] 311 and 322 of 1921; 134 and 170 of 1934-35

[3] 311 and 340 of 1921; 186, 190, 204, 205 and 245 of 1934-35; *S I I*. Vol. VII, No. 890; *S. I. T. I*, Vol. V. No. 46.

[4] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 890; 262 of 1902. In the genealogy furnished in the Epigraphical Report for the year 1934-35 p. 61. Saṟṟukkuḍādāṉ is described as the son of this Rājarāja Chēdirāyaṉ. But this view is wholly untenable for the reason that Nos. 381 of 1937-38 and 171, 186 and 250 of 1934-35 clearly show that Saṟṟukkuḍādāṉ was a title of Rājarāja II Chēdirāyaṉ and that he was alive till at least A. D. 1185.

[5] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 890.

daughter of Poṉparappiṉa Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ, the Bāṇa chieftain[1]. From his title Saṟṟukkuḍādāṉ (i.e., one who would not yield) we can say that he must have been a distinguished military leader. No further details of his military career are available. He continued to be a Chōḷa feudatory in the reign of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa.

(3) His son, Periyauḍaiyāṉ Rājarāja III Kōvalarāyaṉ[2] first figures in the reign of Rājādhirāja II Chōḷa. But the major part of his career belongs to the next reign.

(4) Kiḷiyūr Periyauḍaiyān Nīrēṟṟāṉ alias Rājarāja Malaiyakularāyaṉ continued to be a Chōḷa vassal in the reign of Rājādhirāja II Other Malaiyamāṉ feudatories of Rājādhirāja Chōḷa were.

(5) Rāmaṉ Poṟkudaṅguḍuttāṉ alias Vaṉṉiyadēvēndra Malaiyamāṉ[3] (A. D. 1173) and

(6) Kaṇṇaṉ Sūraṉ alias Ākārasūra Malaiyamāṉ[4] (A. D. 1177).

Inscriptions of Kulottuṅga III Chōḷa mention many Malaiyamāṉ chiefs of different families.

(1) Iraiyūraṉ Periyauḍaiyaṉ alias Rājarāja II Chēdirāyaṉ of Kiḷiyūr, also known as Saṟṟukkuḍādāṉ, continued to be a Chōḷa vassal and bore the additional title of Vaṉṉiyanāyaṉ[5]. He was in charge of

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[1]116 of 1934-35.

[2]*S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 890; 262 of 1902.

[3]215 of 1934-35.

[4]427 of 1909.

[5]381 of 1937-38; 116, 171 and 250 of 1934-35; 315 and 341 of 1921; *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 922.

Vāṇakōppāḍi-nāḍu, Seṅguṉṟa-nāḍu and Malāḍu[1]. He was an ally and perhaps a relation of Vīrarājēndra Chēdirāyaṉ alias Malaiyamāṉ Ākārasūraṉ of Kiḷiyūr[2].

The numerous short epigraphs found at Aragaṇḍanallūr (S. Arcot dt.) contain vows taken by the personal bodyguards, male and female, (Vēḷaikkāras and Vēḷaikkāris) of this Saṟṟukkuḍādāṉ alias Vaṉṉiyanāyaṉ not to outlive their master[3]. We may easily infer from these records that Rājarāja II Chēdirāyaṉ was in real danger of being attacked by his enemies, probably his own kinsmen or other neighbouring vassals. We do not know if his close relations with the Bāṇa chieftain had anything to do with it. We know for certain that there were some factions among the Malaiyamāṉ chiefs[4].

(2) Rājarāja II Chēdirāyan's successor was Kiḷiyūr Malaiyamāṉ Iraiyūraṉ Periyauḍaiyāṉ Rājarāja III Kōvalarāyaṉ (c. A. D. 1185-c. 1218)[5]. He was also known as Rājarāja III Chēdirāyaṉ[6] and

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[1] 190 of 1934-35.

[2] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII No. 922; 293 of 1902.

[3] *A. R. E.* 1934-35, pt. II, p. 61. 'Vēḷaikkāras were personal bodyguards of a chieftain who banded themselves to protect their master both in the battle field and outside it, and to die along with him in case of his death. Literary references can also be cited to illustrate the existence of such a body of attendants in olden days while inscriptions attest to the prevalence of this peculiar kind of loyalty among the henchmen of the chiefs in the Tamil and Kannada districts'. *ibid.*

[4] see below.

[5] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 1021; 389 of 1902; 341 of 1921; 381 of 1937-38.

[6] 116 of 1934-35.

Palavāyuda Pallavaraiyaṉ[1]. Further, he is identical with Kūguḍaiyāṉ Iraṇaṉ Poṉparappiṉāṉ alias Rājarāja Kōvalarāyaṉ[2]. He was the son of the Bāṇa princess Bhūmāḻvi[3] and father-in-law of the Bāṇa chief Rājarāja Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ[4]. He should not be confused with Ākārasūṟaṉ alias Kōvalarāyaṉ, a vassal of Rājarāja III Chōḷa, for the reason that the interval is too long-50 years[5] - the former first figuring in the reign of Rājādhirāja II Chōḷa. Further Ākārasūra Kōvalarāyaṉ's marriage with Āṭkoṇḍanāchchi is referred to in a record of A. D. 1232[6]. If Rājarāja Kōvalarāyaṉ were alive at that time he would have been too old for any marriage.

About A. D. 1198 this Rājarāja III Chēdirāyaṉ concluded a pact with a certain Eriappaṉ Marundaṉ alias Mūvendaraiyaṉ, both being loyal to Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ (i. e., the Bāṇa Chieftain)[7]. According to the treaty, they promised to stand by each other in times of danger and not to enter into any negotiations with each other's enemies. Probably a little before, Rājarāja III Chēdirāyaṉ made a pact with another Malaiyamāṉ chief by name Vīrarājēndra Chēdirāyaṉ[8] also called Kiḷiyūr Malaiyamāṉ[9]. In A. D. 1205 Rājarāja III

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[1] 381 of 1937-38.

[2] 93 of 1918.

[3] 180 of 1934-35.

[4] 447 of 1913; also *S. I I* Vol. VII, No. 930; 301 of 1902.

[5] *contra*, *A. R. E* 1934-35, pt. II, p. 61.

[6] 480 and 481 of 1921.

[7] 163 of 1934-35.

[8] 178 of 1934-35.

[9] 249 of 1934-35.

Chēdirāyaṉ and ten other chieftains including Kiḷiyūr Malaiyamāṉ Ākārasūraṉ alias Rājagambhīra Chēdirāyaṉ made a coalition against (1) Magadaipperumāḷ Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ (2) Kulōttungasōḻa Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ and (3) Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyaṉ[1]. All the eleven chieftains who were a party to the agreement pledged their loyalty to the Chōḻa emperor as well as to Rājarāja III Chēdirāyaṉ. Obviously Rājarāja III Chēdirāyaṉ must have seceded from the alliance with the Bāṇa chieftain. A little later in the same year the Chēdirāya chief made a separate pact with Āḻagiyanāyaṉ Ākārasūraṉ alias Rājagambhīra Chēdirāya against Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ or his brothers i..e, Magadaipperumāḷ Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ and Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ[2]. All these show that Rājarāja III Chēdirāyaṉ was a chieftain of exceptionally high status and power. He had his own Sāmantas[3]. He continued to be a loyal feudatory of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḻa throughout his reign[4].

(3) Malaiyamāṉ Kāmaṉ Malaiyaṉ Chēdirāyaṉ alias Muḍikoṇḍasōḻa Malaiyakularāyaṉ of Kiḷiyūr (A. D. 1183) was another Malaiyamāṉ feudatory of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḻa[5]. Probably he was the successor of Kaṇṇaṉ Sūraṉ alias Ākārasūra Malaiyamāṉ of Kiḷiyūr, a vassal of Rājādhirāja II Chōḻa[6].

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[1]*S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 106; 516 of 1902.

[2]189 of 1934-35.

[3]*S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 106; 95 of 1918.

[4]*S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 917; 288 of 1902; 318 of 1921.

[5]345 of 1921.

[6]See above.

(4) Yet another Malaiyamāṉ chief of the period was Kiḷiyūr Malaiyamāṉ Attimallaṉ alias Edirilisōḻa Vāṇakularāyaṉ (A.D. 1189)[1]. His identity is not known.

(5) Similarly, Niṉṟaperumāḷ alias Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Malaiyakularāyaṉ (A.D. 1192), another Malaiyamāṉ vassal of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḻa[2].

(6) Malaiyamāṉ Sokkapperumāḷ Poṉparappiṉāṉ Rājagambhīra Chēdirāyaṉ of Kiḷiyūr (A. D. 1184) was another Malaiyamāṉ feudatory of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḻa[3]. He is different from Attimallaṉ Sokkapperumāḷ alias Rājagambhīra Chēdirāyaṉ of Kiḷiyūr, a vassal of Rājarāja II Chōḻa.

(7) Malaiyamāṉ Sūriyadēvaṉ Nīrēṟṟāṉ alias Rājarāja Malaiyakularāyaṉ also known as Edirigaḷnāyaṉ and the lord of Tirukkōyilūr (c. A. D. 1184 - c.1191) was another Malaiyamāṉ chief of this period[4]. As said above, he seems to be different from Kiḷiyūr Malaiyamāṉ Periyauḍaiyāṉ Nīrēṟṟāṉ alias Rājarāja Malaiyakularāyaṉ, a vassal of Rājarāja II Chōḻa and his successor Rājādhirāja II Chōḻa. The latter did not bear the name Sūriyadēvaṉ or Sūriyaṉ, invariably found in the records of the former; similarly, the title of Edirigaḷnāyaṉ was not borne by the former. From the title we can say that this Malaiyakularāyaṉ must have been a powerful feudatory. In the 13th year of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḻa (A. D. 1191) he made a pact with Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ alias Poṉparappiṉāṉ Rājarājadēvaṉ, the Bāṇa chieftain[5]. Other details of his political career are obscure.

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 1022; 390 of 1902.
[2] *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 125; 535 of 1902.
[3] 414 and 415 of 1909.
[4] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 939; 310 of 1902; 158 and 178 of 1906; 400 of 1909; 498 and 502 of 1937-38.
[5] 502 of 1937-38.

(8) Yet another important Malaiyamāṉ chief of this period was Kiḷiyūr Malaiyamāṉ Ākārasūraṉ, Vīrarājēndra Chēdirāyar (c. A. D. 1193)[1]. His subordinate was Marundaṉ Aḻagiyanāya Malaiyamāṉ[2]. In the 15th year of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa (A. D. 1193) he made a gift of land along with Kiḷiyūr Malaiyamāṉ Iraiyūraṉ Periyauḍaiyāṉ alias Rājarāja III Chēdirāyaṉ[3].

(9) Another noted Malaiyamāṉ vassal of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa was Kiḷiyūr Malaiyamāṉ Aḻagiyanāyaṉ Ākārasūraṉ alias Rājagambhīra Chēdirāyaṉ (c. A. D. 1192-c. 1205)[4]. In the 19th year of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa (A. D. 1197) he made a pact with 1) Kūttāḍumdēvaṉ Prithivigaṅgar (2) Malaiyamāṉ Viṉaiveṉrāṉ alias Karikālasōḻanādāḻvāṉ[5]. Further, he was one of those feudatories who pledged their loyalty to the Chōḷa emperor Kulōttuṅga III and to Rājarāja III Chēdirāyaṉ and who promised to act in unison against the Bana and Kāḍavarāya chiefs[6]. Later the same chief made a separate pact with Rājarāja III Chēdirāyaṉ of Kiḷiyūr[7]. No other information is available about his political career.

(10 and 11) Two other Malaiyamāṉ feudatories of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa of whom not much is known are Āṭkoṇḍa Chēdirāya (c. A. D. 1198)[8] and Attimallaṉ Kambaṉ Chōlēndrasiṁha Chēdiraya[9].

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[1] 249 of 1934-35.
[2] *ibid*.
[3] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 922; 293 of 1902.
[4] 87 and 102 of 1906; 189 of 1934-35; 73 of 1945-46; *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII Nos. 124 and 106.
[5] 73 of 1945-46.
[6] *S I. I.* Vol. VIII. Nos. 106; 516 of 1902.
[7] 189 of 1934-35.
[8] 24 of 1921.
[9] 181 of 1934-35.

In the early years of Rājarāja III Chōḷa, Rājarāja III Chēdirāyaṉ of Kiḷiyūr continued to be a Chōḷa vassal[1]. After that we do not hear of him. An inscription of A. D. 1256 mentions a certain Rājarāja Chēdirāyaṉ[2]. He must be certainly different from Iraiyūrāṉ alias Rājarāja III Chēdirāyaṉ of Kiḷiyūr and is very probably identical with his namesake mentioned in a record of A. D. 1232[3]. He was on good terms with the Kāḍavarāyas and had a Kāḍava princess for his queen. His role in Kōpperuñjiṅga I's revolt against Rājarāja III Chōḷa is not clear. In fact, the contemporary Hoysaḷa records are completely silent about the Malaiyamāṉs. All that we know about this Malaiyamāṉ chief is that he acknowledged the formal Chōḷa overlordship as late as A. D. 1256.

Another Malaiyamāṉ feudatory of Rājarāja III Chōḷa was Rājagambhīra Chēdirāyaṉ alias Ākārasūraṉ of Kiḷiyūr (c. A. D. 1240-43)[4]. He is identical with Ākārasūraṉ Tiruvaṇṇamalaipperumāḷ alias Rājagambhīra Chēdirāyaṉ. He is probably the same as Ākārasūraṉ alias Kōvalarāyaṉ, the brother of the preceding chief, Rājarāja IV Chēdirāyaṉ[5].

Inscriptions of the last Chōḷa emperor Rājēndra III do not throw any light on Chōḷa-Malaiyamāṉ relations. On the other hand

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[1]318 of 1921.

[2]*S. I. T I.* Vol. III, No. 1216.

[3]480 and 481 of 1921; see above.

[4]*S. I. I.* Vol VIII, No. 87; 497 of 1902.

[5]*A. R. E.* 1922, Pt. II, paragraph 24; *contra*, *A. R. E.* 1934-35, Pt, II, p. 61.

we find some Malaiyamāṉ chiefs figuring in Pāṇḍya and Kāḍavarāya records as feudatories. An inscription of Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya assignable to A. D. 1256 mentions a certain Viradamuḍittāṉ Bagavatiāḻvāṉ Chēdirāyadēva[1], undoubtedly a Malaiyamāṉ chief. Obviously some of the Malaiyamāṉ chiefs must have shifted their allegiance to the Pāṇḍya emperor.

The records of Kōpperuñjiṅga II mention his Malaiyamāṉ feudatories. One of them was Malaiyanuḍaiyāṉ Poṉparappiṉāṉ Kōvalarāyaṉ (A. D. 1257)[3]. The second was Sūrāṇḍār alias Jeyasēvakaṉ Chēdirāyar (A. D. 1272)[3]. The third was Vaṉṉiyaṉār alias Mānābaraṇa Chēdirāyar (A. D. 1275)[4]. He is very probably identical with Vaṉṉiyaṉāyaṉ Chēdirāyaṉ[5]. An inscription of Kōpperuñjiṅga II mentions his conquest of the hill-fort of Chēdirāya[6]. It is very likely that consequent on that defeat, the Malaiyamāṉ chiefs-at least some of them, must have changed their allegiance to the Kādavarāyas.

Service to Religion and Arts:

We shall now see the Malaiyamāṉs' service to religion and arts. Most of their records describe their various gifts to many temples. It

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[1]209 of 1923.

[2]*S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No.182.

[3]*ibid*, No. 236.

[4]*ibid*, No. 240.

[5]*ibid*, No. 241.

[6]*ibid*, No. 120.

is needless to mention all those gifts and we shall note the most important ones.

Śaivism: The Malaiyamāṉs were ardent votaries of Śaivism though some of them did patronise Vaishṇavism and Jainism. An inscription of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa from Vikravāṇḍi mentions the temple of Chēdikulachintāmaṇi - Īśvaramuḍaiyār[1]. From the name of the temple we can say that it was a Śiva temple built by a Chēdirāya (i.e., Malaiyamāṉ) chief. The temple must have been built before A. D. 1102. Another record of the same Chōḷa from Aragaṇḍanallūr dated 46th year (A. D. 1116) refers to the setting up of the image of Dakshiṇāmūrtidēva in the local Śiva temple by Kiḷiyūr Malaiyamāṉ Nānūṟṟuvaṉ Malaiyaṉ alias Rājēndrasōḷa Chēdirāyaṉ, a vassal of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa[2]. Yet another epigraph of the same Chōḷa dated 48th year (A. D. 1118) refers to the installation of the image of Natarāja in the temple at Tirunelveṇṇai (S. A. dt.) by Rājēndrasōḷa Chēdirāyaṉ, probably the same Malaiyamāṉ chief[3].

An inscription of Vikrama Chōḷa from Siddaliṅgamaḍam (S. A. dt.) dated 15th year (A. D. 1133) refers to the construction of the shrine of the goddess in the Vyāgrapāḍēśvara temple by Āḷavandāḷ, daughter of Malaiyamāṉ Nānūṟṟuvaṉ Malaiyaṉ alias Rājēndrasōḷa Chēdirāyaṉ of Kiḷiyūr and wife of Malaiyamāṉ Rāmaṉ Sūriyaṉ alias Rājēndrasōḷa Malaiyakularāyaṉ of the same village[4].

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[1] 285 of 1915

[2] 161 of 1934-35.

[3] 375 of 1908.

[4] 401 of 1909.

In the second year of Kulōttuṅga II Chōḷa (A. D. 1135) Uttamasōḻi, wife of Vikramasōḻa Chēdirāyaṉ and mother of Vikramasōḻa Kōvaḷarāyaṉ constructed a kitchen in the Śiva temple a Kiḻūr (S. A. dt.)[1]. Vikramasōḻa Chēdirāyaṉ was a vassal of Vikrama Chōḷa. In the 9th year of the same emperor (A.D. 1142) Attimallaṉ Edirilisōḻa Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ, a Malaiyamāṉ chief, made provision for the daily worship of the goddess Paḷḷiyaṟai Nāchchiyār consecrated by his father, Malaiyaṉ Malaiyamāṉ alias Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Chēdirāyaṉ of Kiḷiyūr in the Śiva temple at Aragāṇḍanallūr[2].

An inscription of Rājadhirāja II Chōḷa from Kiḻūr dated 5th year (A. D. 1168) refers to the consecration by Oṟṟiyāḻvār Pulavaradiyāṉ alias Rājarāja Chēdirāyaṉ, of Chēdināyakar, Nāchchiyār, Periyāṇaippiḷḷaiyār in the local Śiva temple[3]. This Chēdirāyaṉ was Rājarāja II Chēdirāyaṉ alias Saṟṟukkuḍādāṉ. From another inscription of the same Chōḷa dated 10th year (A. D. 1173) we know that the *maṇḍapa* in the ruined Śiva temple at Neṟkuṇam (S. A. dt.) was built by Rāmaṉ Poṟkuḍaṅguḍuttāṉ alias Vaṇṇiyadēvēndra Malaiyamāṉ[4].

An undated inscription from Aragaṇḍanallūr (S. A. dt.) of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa mentions the erection of a *maṇḍadpa* in the local Śiva temple by Aḻagiyasokka Chēdi [rāyaṉ][5]. This chief is identical with Sokkapperumāḷ Poṉparappiṉāṉ alias Rājagambhira

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[1]285 of 1902; *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 914.

[2]135 of 1934-35.

[3]*S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 890; 262 of 1902.

[4]215 of 1934-35.

[5]170 of 1934-35.

Chēdirāyaṉ, a vassal of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa. Another epigraph from the same place of the same Chōḷa mentions the construction of a *nritta-maṇḍapa* in the same temple by Malaiyamāṉ Periyauḍaiyāṉ Iraiyūrāṉ Saṟṟukkuḍādāṉ Vaṉṉiyanāyaṉ of Kiḷiyūr[1]. This chieftain was the same as Rājarāja II Chēdirāyaṉ, a feudatory of Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa. An inscription from Elavānāsūr of the same Chōḷa states that the *Tirumāḷigai* near the *gōpura* of the local Śiva temple was constructed by Malaiyamāṉ Sūriyaṉ Nīrēṟṟāṉ alias Edirigaḷnāyaṉ alias Rājarāja Malaiyakularāyaṉ of Kiḷiyūr[2]. Another epigraph from Kugaiyūr[3] of the same Chōḷa states that Iraṇaṉ Poṉparappiṉāṉ alias Rājarāja Kōvalarāyaṉ constructed the stone temple called Srīkailāsa, set up the image of Poṉparappiṉa Īśvara-muḍaiya Nāyaṉār, erected the *ardha maṇḍapa*, the *snāpana-maṇḍapa, the nritta maṇḍapa*, the first *prākāra*, the *gōpura*, the seeond *prākāra* and the *gōpura* and made gift of lands for offerings and to the Brāhmaṇas of the temple. The temple must have been built before A. D. 1192 as another record from the same place suggests[4]. Similarly, a third epigraph of the same Chōḷa from the same place dated 29th year (A. D. 1207) records an endowment to the same temple by the subordinates of Rājarāja Kōvalarāyan[5]. This Rājarāja Kōvalarāyaṉ was the same as Rājārāja III Chēdirāyaṉ, son of Saṟṟukkuḍādāṉ. Another epigraph of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa mentions a *maṭha* supported by a Chēdirāya whose identity is not known[6].

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[1]171 of 1934-35.

[2]498 of 1937-38.

[3]93 of 1918.

[4]94 of 1918.

[5]95 of 1918.

[6]303 of 1911.

Yet another inscription of the same Chōḷa refers to the construction by Āṭkoṇḍanāyakaṉ alias Chēdirāyadēvar of the *tirumadil* (compound wall) of the temple at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr (Chingleput dt.)[1]. As said above the identity of this Chēdirāya also is not known.

Vaishṇavism :

The benefactions of Malaiyamāṉ chiefs to Vishṇu temples are known from some records at Tirukkōyilūr in the South Arcot district. In the 15th year of Vikrama Chōḷa (A. D. 1133) his vassal Vikramāsōḷa Chēdirāyaṉ exempted from taxes certain lands endowed to a Vaishṇava *maṭha* at Tirukkōyilūr[2]. Another inscription dated 7th year of Kulōttuṅga II Chōḷa (A D. 1140) states that on the request of Kulōttuṅgasōḷa Chēdirāyaṉ, the emperor granted some lands for *pūja* and for feeding Srīvaishṇavas in the local Vishṇu temple[3]. A third pigraph of the same Chōḷa mentions a gift to the same temple by the same chief[4]. A fourth record dated 7th year of Rājādhirāja II Chōḷa (A. D. 1170) mentions a gift by Malaiyamāṉ Periyauḍaiyāṉ Iraiyūrāṉ alias Rājarāja II Chēdirāyaṉ of Kiḷiyūr to the same Vishṇu temple[5].

In the 3rd year of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa (A. D. 1181) the same Malaiyamāṉ chief made a gift to the same temple[6]. Two years later

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1 167 of 1937-38.

2 349 of 1921.

3 *S. I. I* Vol. VII, No. 136; 124 of 1900.

4 245 of 1934-35.

5 311 of 1921.

6 315 of 1921.

he and his son Rājarāja Kōvalarāyaṉ made a gift of land for feeding Srīvaishṇavas in the Chittiramēḻi *maṭha* in the same temple[1]. Another Malaiyamāṉ feudatory of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa by name Malaiyaṉ Chēdirāyaṉ alias Muḍikoṇḍasōḻa Malaiyakularāyaṉ made provision for constructing a stone *maṇḍapa* and others in the same temple[2]. In the 2nd year of Rājarāja III Chōḷa (A. D. 1218) Rājarāja III Chēdirāyaṉ made a gift to the same temple[3].

Jainism:

As regards the Maliyamāṉ patronage of Jainism, there are a few records. An inscription of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa records a gift by Rājēndrasōḻa Chēdirāyaṉ to the Jain temple at Tirunaruṅgoṇḍai, a Jain centre in the South Arcot District[4]. This Malaiyamāṉ chief was a vassal of Kulōttuṅga I and Vikrama Chōḷa. Another inscription from the same place of the time of Rājarāja II Chōḷa[5] refers to a gift made by Atti Sokkaṉ alias Rājagambhīra Chēdirāyaṉ. An epigraph of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa from Maruttuvakkuḍi, a noted Jain centre in the Tanjore district, mentions two Jain temples called Chēdikulamāṇikkapperumpaḷḷi and Gaṅgakulasundarapperumpaḷḷi[6]. The former must have been built by a Malaiyamāṉ feudatory.

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[1] 341 of 1921.

[2] 345 of 1921.

[3] 318 of 1921.

[4] 301 of 1939-40.

[5] 317 of 1939-40.

[6] 392 of 1907.

Regarding Malaiyamāṉ Patronage of learning, there is no information except that Rājarāja II Chēdirāyaṉ, a vassal of Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa, was also known as Pulavaraḍiyāṉ i. e., one who venerates poets[1].

To sum up, the history of the Malaiyamāṉs, based on scanty material, does not throw much light on their role in Chōḷa imperial affairs. Their support, besides other things, must have been of some help to Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa in stabilizing his position as emperor. They helped Vikrama Chōḷa in reconquering Gaṅgavāḍi. Rājarāja II Chēdirāyaṉ alias Saṟṟukkuḍādāṉ and his son held a high military and political position in the empire, and in spite of their close relations with the Bāṇas, never sacrificed the imperial interests. Rājarāja III Chēdirāyaṉ's coalition in support of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa against the Bāṇa and Kāḍava feudatories is of some significance. The part played by the Malaiyamāṉ chiefs in the Pāṇḍya wars and in the Kāḍava revolt of A. D. 1232 is not known. In the time of Rājēndra III Chōḷa they seem to have ignored their Chōḷa overlord and shifted theis loyalty to the Pāṇḍya and Kāḍava rulers, thus contributing to the imperial decline. The Malaiyamāṉs supported Śaivism. Vaishṇavism and Jainism in many ways. Not much is known of their patronage of other arts.

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 890.

CHAPTER-IX

THE ŚAMBUVARĀYAS

The Śambuvarāyas were another line of important Chōḷa feudatories exercising their sway over portions of the South Arcot, North Arcot and Chingleput districts. Inscriptional evidence shows their subordination to the Imperial Chōḷas from the 11th century A. D. Mr. T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar regards them as the descendants of the Pallavas[1]. But their earlier records do not give such an indication. There is some evidence that they were of the same community as that of the Malaiyamāṉs[2]. Some of their titles like Pallavāṇḍār or Pallavāṇḍaṉ were due to the fact that they ruled over what was once the Pallava territory.

The history of the Śambuvarāyas, like that of the Malaiyamāṉs, cannot be analysed on dynastic basis because of the existence of several families and the paucity of adequate details, genealogical and chronological.

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[1] *op. cit*,. Vol. II, p. 89.
[2] 284 of 1910.

The earliest known Śambuvarāya chief is Seṅgēṇi Sātta Nālāyiravaṉ alias Karikālasōḻa Seṅgēṇi Nāḍāḻvāṉ (c. A. D. 1068), a contemporary of Adhirājēndra Chōḻa[1]. As his title suggests, he must be an officer in charge of Karikālasōḻa-*nāḍu*. Seṅgēṇi seems to be the earlier dynastic name of the Śambuvarāyas[2]. We do not know if he continued to be a vassal under Kulōttuṅga I.

The next known Śambuvarāya is Seṅgēṇi Nālāyiravaṉ Ammaiyappaṉ alias Rājēndrasōḻa Śambuvarāya (c. A. D. 1114 - 1147), a feudatory of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḻa, Vikrama Chōḻa and Kulōttuṅga II[3]. He seems to be the successor Seṅgēṇi Sātta Nālāyiravaṉ. He appears to have been a very powerful chieftain, and his inscriptions are found in the two Arcot districts. Muṉṉūr in Ōymānāḍu was the seat of his authority.

It is suggested that the term Nālāyiravaṉ may mean the commander of a body of four thousand soldiers[4]. It is quite possible. But we are not certain, if this Śambuvarāya was the head of 'the Mīṉavaṉai-veṉkaṇḍār 4000 - a force of 4000 bodyguards[5]. In case he was so, he must have taken part in Kulōttuṅga I Chōḻa's

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[1]*S. I. I.* Vol. VII, Nos. 854; 227 of 1902.

[2]T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, *Tamil Polil*, Vol. II, p. 144.

[3]235 of 1919; 109 of 1921; 400 and 422 of 1922; 63 of 1900; 163 of 1916; 298 and 302 of 1928-29; 234 of 1919; 512 of 1937-38.

[4]*A. R. E.* 1923, Pt. II, p. 123.

[5]*ibid*, the expression Mīṉavaṉai-veṉkaṇḍār, no doubt, refers to some successful conflict with the Pāṇḍyas.

war with the Pāṇḍyas under the leadership of prince Vikrama Chōḷa. But the objection is that Rājēndrasōḻa Śambuvarāya's inscriptions contain no hint of it. An inscription of Rājādhirāja II Chōḷa while mentioning the gift of his Śambuvarāya vassal, Seṅgēṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Pāṇḍi alias Rājarāja Śambuvarāya refers to his grandfather, Ammaiyappaṉ Kulamāṇickam Pāṇḍinādu-koṇḍār (i. e., who conquered the Pāṇdya country[1]. This Śambuvarāya may have headed the force Mīṉavaṉai veṉkaṇḍār.

The question whether Rājēndrasōḻa Śambuvarāya or any other Śambuvarāya had taken part in the Kaliṅga war of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa or his successor needs to be discussed because an undated copper-plate record from Guntur in Āndhra mentions two chiefs called Periya Śambuvarāya and Siṟiya Śambuvarāya who were provincial chiefs of a Telugu-Chōḷa ruler by name Śambhu-Chōḷa ruling between Nellūr and Kaliṅga[2]. According to the Government Epigraphist the record "may be assigned palaeographically to about the 1?th century A. D. and the Śambuvarāyas must have accompanied the Chōḷa kings to the north to help them in the conquest of the Telugu country and continued to rule there subsequently as local officers"[3]. But there is no corroborative evidence, literary or epigraphical. Nevertheless the possibility cannot be ruled out. As far as Rājēndrasōḻā Śambuvarāya is concerned there is no indication in any of his records of his participation in the Kaliṅga wars.

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[1]222 of 1904.

[2]*A. R. E* 1918, Pt. II, pp. 170 and 171.

[3]*ibid*.

That Rājēndrasōḻa Śambuvarāya was a very prominent chieftain is clear from a record of Vikrama Chōḷa[1]. The inscription states that this chieftain constructed tanks with sluices in several villages, reclaimed waste lands in many places and brought them under cultivation for the benefit of the people, built numerous temples and did many other acts of charity besides giving protection to the people from occasional dangers. In grateful appreciation of these services, the people of Uttamasōḻa-*vaḷanāḍu* gave away the village of Sittiramēḻinallūr as a *dēvadāṉa* for the expenses of the temple of Ammai-Viṇṇagar Tiruvirundāḻvār and his consort built by this chief on the Tiruvēdimalai (hill) at Vayalūr[2].

An inscription of Vikrama Chōḷa from Tiruvattiyūr (N.Arcot. dt.) mentions a certain Seṅgēṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Sīyaṉ[3]. It is not known if this chief is identical with Rājēndrasōḻa Śambuvarāya. Similarly, a record of Kulōttuṅga II Chōḷa mentions a certain Nālāyiravaṉ Sivālayasandōḻaṉ Seṅgēṇi Ammaiyappaṉ[4]. It is likely that this Śambuvarāya is identical with Rājēndrasōḻa Śambuvarāya.

Another Śambuvarāya chief of this period was Ammaiyappaṉ Kaṇṇuḍai Perumāḷ alias Vikramasōḻa Śambuvarāyaṉ (c. A. D. 1144-1146) a vassal of Kulōttuṅga II[5]. He seems to be the successor of

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[1]422 of 1922.

[2]*A. R. E.* 1923, Pt. II, p. 123.

[3]86 of 1939-40.

[4]163 of 1915.

[5]422 of 1922; *S. I. I.* Vol. III, No. 61, *contra*. T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, *Tamiḻ Poḻil*, Vol. II, p. 145.

Rājēndrasōḻa Śambuvarāya. We have no information about his career except his donations to some temples. It may be noted here that there was another Śambuvarāya of exactly the same name in the time of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa.

From the inscriptions of Rājarāja II Chōḷa and his successor Rājādhirāja II we know the following śambuvarāya feudatories:

(1) Seṅgēṇi Attimallaṉ alias Rājēndrasōḻa Śambuvarāya (c. A.D 1150-1174) also known as Attimallanāyaṉ[1]. He was a vassal of Rājarāja II Chōḷa and Rājādhirāja II Chōḷa[2]. There are a few records throwing some light on his political career. According to an inscription of A. D. 1174 this Śambuvaraya and his brother, Ōduvāṉ alias Rājagambhīra Śambuvarāya made a political pact with Seṅgēṇi Miṇḍāṉ Sīyaṉ Pallavadaraiyaṉ[3] alias Śambuvarāya against Attiyāṇḍāṉ alias Vikramasōḻa Śambuvarāya[4]. Another inscription of the same year states that all the three chiefs who were a party to this pact agreed not to break the terms of the compact[5]. Though all the chieftains mentioned in the two records were feudatory to Rājādhirāja II Chōḷa, the compact was made without any reference to the imperial authority. Incidentally the two records show the dissensions among the Śambuvārāyas even at that early period.

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[1] 252 of 1919; 421 of 1922; 100 of 1939-40.

[2] *contra*, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op.cit.*, (old edition) p. 724. Prof. Sastri assigns him to the period of Rājarāja III Chōḷa. But the inscriptional evidence is clearly against this view.

[3] or Pallavāṇḍāṉ according to 252 of 1919.

[4] 100 of 1939-40.

[5] 252 of 1919.

(2) Ammaiyappaṉ Sīyaṉ Pallavāṇḍāṉ alias Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya (c. A. D. 1156 - 74) was another feudatory of Rājarāja II Chōḷa and Rājādhirāja II Chōḷa[1]. His relationship to the other Śambuvarāya chieftains is not known. We have noted his political relations with other Śambuvarāya chieftains. There is no doubt that he held a high position among the Śambuvarāyas.

(3) Another Śambuvarāya vassal of Rājarāja II Chōḷa was Nittavinōda Sambuvarāya[2]. His identity is not clear.

(4) Śeṅgēṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Sīyaṉ Ammaiyappaṉ alias Edirilisōḷa Śambuvarāya (c. A. D. 1160 - 71) was a notable Śambuvarāya chief of the time of Rājādhirāja II Chōḷa[3]. He was a very loyal feudatory deeply interested in imperial affairs and held a high position in imperial administration. As noted above in connection with the Bāṇas, the Pāṇḍya civil war began during the period under consideration. According to an inscription from Ārppākkam (Chingleput dt.), when the Ceylonese army after its repeated victories over Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya, proceeded successfully against the *Sāmantas* of Rājādhirāja II Chōḷa at Toṇḍi and Pāsi, this Śambuvarāya became greatly alarmed and approached Swāmidēvar, a holy man, to ward off the danger to the Chōḷa country from the wicked Ceylonese troops. Swāmidēvar performed *Pūja* for 28 days to bring about the defeat of the Ceylonese, and then came the news of the great Chōḷa victory over the Ceylonese. Naturally the grateful Śambuvarāya presented the entire

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[1] 244 of 1901; 52, 71, 73 and 252 of 1919; 179 of 1934-35; 100 of 1939-40.

[2] 168 of 1918.

[3] *S. I. I.* Vol. VI Nos. 456 and Vol IV. No. 820; 393 of 1923.

village of Ārppākkam to Śwāmidēvar[1] It is, however, not known if this chief had actually fought any battle against the Ceylonese. It is likely that this Edirilisōḷa Śambuvarāya was the grandson of Rājēndrasōḷa Śambuvarāya, a vassal of Vikrama Chōḷa I, noted above.

(5) Another Śambuvarāya subordinate of Rājādhirāja II was Seṅgēṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Kaṇḍar Sūriyaṉ Śambuvarāya Pāṇḍinādu Koṇḍāṉ (i.e., who conquered the Pāṇḍya country) also called Rājarāja Śambuvarāya (c.A.D. 1167-1205)[2]. He fought and won the earliest battle against the Ceylonese in the Pāṇḍya civil war. Later also he must have participated in the Pāṇḍya wars. But we do not have details of his compaigns. He continued to be a Chōḷa vassal in the reign of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa.

(6 and 7) Seṅgēṇi Vīrāṇḍāṉ and his son Attiyāṇḍāṉ alias Vikramasōḷa Śambuvarāya are known from a few records of Rājādhirāja II Chōḷa[3]. As noted above, the latter was a rival of three other contemporary Śambuvarāya chiefs. Nothing more is known about him.

Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa had many Śambuvarāya feudatories. They are (1) Seṅgēṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Pāṇḍinādu Koṇḍāṉ Kaṇḍar Sūriyaṉ alias Kaṇḍarkūḷiyaṉāṉa Rājarāja Śambuvarāya (c A.D. 1167-1205)[4]. As noted above, he had distinguished himself in the

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[1] *S I I* Vol. VI, No. 456; 20 of 1899; *A. R. E.* 1899, Pt. II.

[2] 195 and 222 of 1904; 202 of of 1902; *S I I.* Vol. VII, No. 829.

[3] 100 of 1939-40; 76 of 1900; *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 84.

[4] 219, 221 and 516 of 1902; 239 of 1901; 190, 194, 195 and 223 of 1904; 184 of 1916; 345 of 1917: 167, 176 and 183 of 1918; 56 of 1922.

Pâṇḍya civil wars. In the reign of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa he bore the additional title of Kaṇḍarkūḷiyaṇāṇa[1]. About A. D. 1186 this Śambuvarāya had a Yādavarāya subordinate[2] In A. D. 1191 this Śambuvarāya along with (1) Rājarāja Mūvēndaraiyar (2) Jaṇanātha Mūvēndaraiyar (3) Ulaguyyakoṇḍa Kāḍavarāyaṇ made a pact with Rājarāja Nīlagṅgaraiyaṇ on the understanding that he would help only the four and none other[3]. Ulaguyyakoṇḍa Kāḍavarāyaṇ was the same as Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyaṇ alias Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ. This alliance did not last long as a later record shows. In A. D. 1205 this Pāṇḍināḍukoṇḍāṇ Śambuvarāya, Rājarāja Nīlagaṅgaraiyaṇ and Rājarāja Mūvēndaraiyaṇ seceded from this alliance and formed a grand coalition with eight other vassals under the leadership of Rājarāja III Chēdirāyaṇ, all of them pledging their loyalty to the emperor Kulōttuṅga III and promising to act in unison against (1) Magadaināḍāḷvāṇ alias Vāṇakōvaraiyaṇ (2) Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Vāṇakōvaraiyaṇ and (3) Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyaṇ[4]. Obviously something must have happened between A. D. 1191 and 1205 resulting in the hostility of Rājarāja Śambuvarāya to the Kāḍavarāya. Other details of the political or military career of Rājarāja Śambuvarāya are not known.

(2) Seṅgēṇi Mīṇḍāṇ Sīyaṇ Vīrāsaṇi Ammaiyappaṇ Kaṇṇuḍaiperumāḷ alias Vīraviṇōda Vikramasōḻa Śambuvarāya (c. A. D. 1188-1194) also known as Vēdaipperumāḷ, was another Śambuvarāya

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 453.

[2] 184 of 1916.

[3] 56 of 1922.

[4] *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 106.

feudatory of Kulōttuṅga III[1]. He must be different from Kaṇṇuḍai-perumāḷ, a subordinate of Vijaya-Gaṅdagōpāla[2]. This Sambuvarāya seems to have exercised his sway in North Arcot district. No details of his political career are available. Still from his titles one can say that he must have been a very important vassal.

(3) Seṅgēṇi Ammaiyappaṇ Vīramiṇḍāṇ alias Attimallaṇ Vikramasōḻa Śambuvarāya (c. A. D. 1186-c. 1199) was another important Śambuvarāya vassal of Kulōttuṅga III[3] He should not be confounded with Attiyāṇḍāṇ Vikramasōḻa Śambuvarāya mentioned above. He is the same as Seṅgēṇi Miṇḍaṇ Attimallan Śambuvarāya[4]. In A. D. 1198 this Śambuvarāya made an alliance with (1) Malaiyaṇ Viṇaiyaiveṇṟāṇ alias Karikāiasōḻa Āḍaiyūr Nāḍaḷvāṇ (2) Piranda-perumāḷ alias Rājarāja Adigamāṇ against (a) Yādavarāya (b Sīyagaṅga (c) Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Śambuvarāya.[5] Obviously the Śambuvarāya chiefs were not united notwithstanding their allegiance to the Chōḷa emperor. Further details of this Vikramasōḻa Śambuvarāya's political career are not available.

(4) Attimallaṇ Pallavāṇḍāṇ alias Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Śambuvarāya (c. A D. 1189-1205) was another notable Śambuvarāya chieftain of

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[1] 553 of 1902; 343 of 1912; 620 of 1919; 98 of 1922; 56 of 1934-35; 7 and 36 of 1940-41; *S. I. I.* Vol. I, No. 132.

[2] 51 of 1921.

[3] 80, 107 and 115 of 1900; 405 of 1905; 387 of 1921.

[4] 301 of 1897; *S. I. I.* Vol. III, No. 60.

[5] 115 and 107 of 1900; *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 119.

this period[1]. Probably he is the same as Seṅgēṇi Vīrasōḻaṉ Attimallaṉ alias Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Śambuvarāya[2]. Further, he may be identified with Seṅgēṇi Vīrarākkada Śambuvarāya figuring in a record of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa from North Arcot district[3].

In 1189 Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Śambuvarāya made an alliance with Kūḍal Arasanārāyaṇaṉ Āḷappiṟandāṉ alias Kāḍavarāyaṉ[4]. The Kāḍavarāya mentioned here was the uncle of Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ[5]. According to the alliance "both swore that they should not do anything that would be detrimental to the interests of either, that Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Śambuvarāya should not form any alliance with Āḷappiṟandāṉ Edirilisōḻa Śambuvarāyaṉ, that he should confine himself to certain specified tracts of country which if he transgressed, the *mudalis* would send up arms and horses and cause him injury; that if Āḷappiṟandāṉ Edirilisōḻa Śambuvarāyaṉ inflicted any trouble on Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Śambuvarāya, Kāḍavarayaṉ would support him; that in case Āḷappiṟandāṉ Edirilisōḻa Śambuvarayaṉ ran away from his hill (residence) leaving behind him all arms, Kulottuṅgasōḻa Śambuvarāyaṉ should have possession of them subject to the condition that he would not shelter or form any alliance with the other and that if Kāḍavarāyaṉ allied himself with the relatives of Kulōttuṅgāsōḻa Śambuvarāyaṉ and with Āḷappiṟandāṉ Edirilisōḻa Śambuvarāyaṉ

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[1] 240 of 1901; 61, 62 and 107 of 1900; 516 of 1902; *S. I. I.* Vol VII, Nos. 65, 66; 119 and 454.

[2] 254 of 1919.

[3] 58 of 1908.

[4] 254 of 1919.

[5] See above,

against the interests of Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Śambuvarāyaṉ he (Kāḍavarāyaṉ) would demean himself to the position of carrying the sandals of his enemies and of eating the chewed betal leaves thrown out from their mouths"[1]. The details of the agreement cited above show the growing freedom of the feudatories in making private alliances with no regard for imperial authority.

As noted above, in A. D. 1198 this Śambuvarāya was opposed to Karikālasōḻa Āḍaiyūrnāḍāḻvāṉ, Attimallaṉ Vikramasōḻa Śambuvarāya and Rājarāja Adigamāṉ[2]. We do not know the reason for their hostility. In A. D. 1205 this Śambuvarāya fell out with the Kāḍavas and joined the coalition of 11 vassals against the Bāṇa and Kāḍava chieftains[3]. Other details of his political career are not known.

(5). Seṅgēṇi [ma] ṅgala [miṭṭaṉ] Ammaiyappaṉ Miṭṭaṉ Appaṉ alias Sōḻēndrasiṅga Śambuvarāyaṉ (A. D. 1194) was a vassal of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa[4]. His relationship to the other Śambuvarāyas is not known. Nor do we know any other details of his career.

(6 and 7) Seṅgēṇi Attimallaṉ Vīrāṇḍāṉ alias Edirilisōḻa Śambuvarāya (c. A. D. 1205-37) was another chief of this period[5]. He must be different from Seṅgēṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Aḻagiyasōḻaṉ alias

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[1]*A. R. E.* 1919, Pt. II, pp. 98 and 99.

[2]*S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 119.

[3]*S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 106.

[4]180 of 1918.

[5]*S. I. I* Vol. VIII, No. 106.

Edirilisōḻa Śambuvarāya, also a vassal Kulōttuṅga III Chōḻa[1]. He seems to be the successor of Vikiramasōḻa Śambuvarāya (No. 3 above)[2]. Attimallaṉ Vīrāṇḍāṉ was one of the 11 chiefs who formed the coalition against the Bāṇa and Kāḍavarāya chieftains[3]. He continued to be a Chōḻa vassal in the time of Rājarāja III Chōḻa. Pāvanīttaṉ alias Rājēndrasōḻa Śambuvarāya was one of the 11 chiefs mentioned above[4].

(8) Aḻagiyasōḻa Śambuvarāya alias Sōḻapiḷḷai, son of Ammaiyappaṉ (c. A. D. 1205 - 1244) was another Śambuvarāya chieftain of this period[5]. He is the same as Vīrāsaṉi Ammaiyappaṉ Aḻagiyasōḻa Śambuvarāya[6]. Further he must be identical with Seṅgēṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Aḻagiyasōḻaṉ alias Edirilisōḻa Śambuvarāya[7]. There is no information about his political or military activity.

(9) Seṅgēṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Vaṉṉiyanāyaṉ Śambuvarāya who is mentioned in a record of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḻa[8], dated 38th year (A. D. 1216) is said to have been connected with Seṅgēṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Attimallaṉ alias Vikramasōḻa Śambuvarāyaṉ mentioned above[9]. No definite information except that he was a vassal of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḻa, is available.

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 103.

[2] 106 of 1939-40.

[3] *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 106.

[4] *ibid.*

[5] *S. I. I.* Vol. IV, No. 849.

[6] 188 of 1939-40 and 40 of 1940-41.

[7] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 103.

[8] 234 of 1910.

[9] *A. R. E.* 1911, Pt. II, P. 74.

(10) Equally uncertain is our knowledge of Āḷappiṟandāṉ Ediṟilisōḻa Śambuvarāya mentioned above as a rival of Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Śambuvarāya[1]. It is difficult to identify him with any other Śambuvarāya feudatories of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa.

In the reign of Rājarāja III Chōḷa the following Śambuvarāya chiefs were feudatory to the Chōḷas.

(1) Seṅgēṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Rājarāja Śambuvarāya[2] also known as Vīrapperumāḷ Ediṟilisōḻa Śambuvarāya Āḷappiṟandanāyaṉ[3] (c. A. D. 1229-1277). Undoubtedly he must be different from Pāṇḍinādu-koṇḍāṉ alias Rājarāja Śambuvarāya, a vassal of Rājādhirāja II Chōḷa and Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa. The titles of this Rājarāja Śambuvarāya suggest that he must have been a powerful chieftain. Still, we possess no knowledge of his career. That he was loyal to Rājarāja III Chōḷa till at least A.D. 1230 is clear from a record[4]. His role in Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya wars and in the Kāḍava revolt is not known. But there is clear evidence that later he was subordinate to the Telugu Chōḷa ruler Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla[5].

(2) Seṅgēṇi Vīrapperumāḷ alias Ediṟilisōḻa Śambuvarāya[6], also known as Attimallaṉ[7], Piḷḷaiyār Ediṟilisōḻa Śambuvarāya[8] and

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[1] *A. R. E.* 1919, Pt. II, pp. 98 and 99.
[2] 57 of 1919.
[3] 566 of 1919.
[4] *ibid.*
[5] 302 and 303 of 1912; 93 of 1939-40.
[6] 106 of 1939-40.
[7] 551 of 1902; 105 and 112 of 1939-40; 89 of 1900;
S. I. I. Vol. VII, No. 98.
[8] 175 of 1939-40.

Vīrasōla[1] was another Śambuvarāya vassal (A D. 1205-37) of Rājarāja III Chōḷa and his predecessor Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa. The part played by this chieftain in the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya wars is not known although the possibility of his support to the Chōḷa emperors cannot be ruled out. That he was loyal to the Chōḷa emperor Rājarāja III during the entire period of Kōpperuñjiṅga I's revolt is fully attested by inscriptional evidence[2]. The prefix of the name of this chief, 'piḷḷaiyār', shows his intimacy with the emperor. He bore the title of Vīrasōḻa in the time Rājarāja III Chōḷa.

(3) Another Śambuvarāya feudatory of Rājarāja III Chōḷa was Tribhuvaṇavīra Śambuvarāya, mentioned in a record of A. D. 1230[3] The title Tribhuvaṇavīra belongs to Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa. But this Śambuvarāya is not mentioned in any record of that emperor.

(4) Seṅgēṇi Vīrāsaṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Aḻagiyasōḻaṉ Palavāyuda-vallavaṉ - tanivasikāṭṭit - taṉininṟuveṉṟa Edirilisōḻa Śambuvarāya (c.A.D. 1235-44) was another notable Śambuvarāya chief of this period[4]. He must be different from Vīrasōlaṉ Attimallaṉ Śambuvarāya,[5] Seṅgēṇi Vīrapperumāḷ Attimallaṉ Śambuvarāya[6] and also from Piḷḷaiyār Edirilisoḻa Śambuvarāyar[7] for the reason that Vīrāsaṇi Ammaiyappaṉ

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[1] 551 of 1902.

[2] 105, 106 and 175 of 1939-40; 89 of 1900; *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 98; 551 of 1902 - the dates ranging from the 14th to 22nd regnal year of Rajaraja III.

[3] 406 of 1922.

[4] *S. I. I.* Vol. I, Nos. 59, 61, 63 and 64; 181 and 184 of 1939-40

[5] 551 of 1902.

[6] 105 and 112 of 1939-40.

[7] 175 of 1939-40.

did not, as far as available evidence goes, bear the surnames of these chieftains[1]. As noted above, (No. 8 of Kulōttuṅga III period) this Śambuvarāya had been a vassal of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa. Now in the reign of Rājarāja III Chōḷa he bears the surname Palavāyuda-vallavaṉ taṉivasikāṭṭit-taṉiniṉṟuveṉṟa. Obviously he fought and won a battle single-handed at some place. We know neither his adversary nor the date nor the place of the battle. All that we know for certain is that it must have happened before A. D. 1238[2]. Further details of this Śambuvarāya's career are not available.

(5) Seṅgēṇi Vīrapperumāḷ alias Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Śambuvarāya[3] was another feudatory of Rājarāja III Chōḷa, mentioned in a record of A.D.1233. We have no knowledge of his political career except that later he shifted his loyalty to the Telugu-Chōḷa ruler Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpāla. An epigraph of the latter dated 27th year (A.D.1277) describes this Śambuvarāya as Seṅgēṇi Vīrapperumāḷ Gaṇḍagōpāḷaṉ alias Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Śambuvarāya[4]. He is probably the same as Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Śambuvarāya alias Aḻagiyasōḻa mentioned in another record of that Gaṇḍagōpāla[5]. As noted in connection with the Kāḍavarāyas, the Telugu Chōḷa ruler Tikka I alias Gaṇḍagōpāḷa conquered the Śambuvarāyas and the Chēdirāyas in the later part Rājarāja III's reign and ruled over a large part of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. The absence of Rājarāja III's later inscriptions there, shows that the

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[1] *contra* *A. R. E* 1939-40, paragraph 42.

[2] *S I I.* Vol. I, No. 59.

[3] 57 of 1908.

[4] 108 of 1939-40.

[5] 236 of 1910.

Chḷōa emperor acquiesced in Gaṇḍagōpāla's rule there. Naturally, the Śambuvarāyas came under Telugu.Chōḷa rule. Already we saw another Śambuvarāya vassal of Rājarāja III Chōḷa paying his allegiance to Gaṇḍagōpāla. That also must be viewed in this light.

(6) The greatest Śambuvarāya feudatory of Rājarāja III Chōḷa was Śambukulaperumāḷ Attimallaṉ Rājagambhīra Śambuvarāya[1] (c. A. D. 1236-67). He began his career as a Chōḷa vassal, declared his independence in A D. 1258 and later became subordinate to the Telugu-Chōḷa ruler Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla[2]. We do not know the part played by this chieftain in the relations between the Imperial Chōḷas on the one hand and the Kāḍavarāyas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Hoysaḷas on the other. It is clear that he founded the Śambuvarāya kingdom called 'Rājagambhira Rājya' with its capital at Paḍavēdu (N. Arcot dt.) and built and endowed the Ammaiyappēśvara temple there[3]. Mr. Pandarathar thinks that Rājagambhīra Śambuvarāya was the son of Ammaiyappaṉ Kaṇṇuḍaiperumāḷ alias Vikramasōḻa Śambuvarāya[4].

(7) A few other Śambuvarāya feudatories of Rājarāja III Chōḷa of whom not much is known are Pallavāṇḍār alias Edirilisōḷa Śambuvarāya[5] and his son Aḻagiya Sīyaṉ alias Aḻagiyasōḻa Śambuvarāya[6]. It is difficult to identify these two with any of the

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[1]*S. I. I.* Vol. I, No. 74.

[2]*S. I. I.* Vol. I, No. 78; 178 of 1939-40; 70 of 1941.

[3]T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, *Tamil Polil*, Vol. II, p. 148.

[4]*ibid.*

[5]192 of 1939-40; 106 of 1912; 393 of 1922.

[6]106 of 1912; 393 of 1922.

Śambuvarāya chiefs mentioned above. Both were feudatory to Rājarāja III Chōḷa during the critical period of Pāṇḍya invasions and Kāḍava revolt. But no information is available about their role in those events. A record of A. D. 1260 mentions a maid-servant of Pallavāṇḍār, the elder chief[1]. We do not know if that chief continued in power till that time.

The records of Rājēndra III Chōḷa mention no Śambuvarāya feudatories. Very probably the Śambuvarāyas ceased to be Chōḷa vassals by that time. Some Śambuvarāya chiefs had come under Telugu-Chōḷa control; some others like Śambukulaperumāḷ must have declared their independence. Rājēndra III Chōḷa's preoccupation with the Hoysaḷas and the Pāṇḍyas, must have facilitated the Śambuvarāya independence. But after some time Rājēndra III Chōḷa's efforts to rehabilitate the imperial fortunes led him to a war with the Śambuvarāyas. The Prasasti of Rājēndra III describes him as "the very Rāma to the prosperous Northern Lanka celebrated for its Vīrarākshasa"[2]. Obviously this is a reference to the emperor's successful campaign against the Śambuvarāyas who called themselves Vīrarākshasas and who ruled from Māvilaṅgai (i. e., Northern Lanka) in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam[3]. It is probable that the Chōḷa emperor was assisted in this compaign by the Telugu-Chōḷa ruler, Tikkanṛipati Gaṇḍagōpāla. Though we do not possess any evidence about the date of this battle, it is possible to say that it must have happened sometime before A. D. 1257, before Jaṭāvarmaṇ Sundara I Pāṇḍya's invasion

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[1] 192 of 1939-40.
[2] Prof. K. A. N. Sastri, *op. cit*, pp. 434-35.
[3] T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 209.

of the Chōḷa empire. In fact the inscriptions of the Telugu Chōḷas only confirm this view[1]. Probably in the wake of Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya's triumph over Rājēndra III Chōḷa, some Śambuvarāya chiefs declared their independence again. One such Śambuvarāya ruler was Sakalalōkachakravartiṉ Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya (acc. A. D. 1258). He issued records in his own name without reference to any overlord[2]. But the independence of the Śambuvarāyas must have been of very short duration. It was ended by Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya's victorious invasion of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. Not only the Śambuvarāyas but all the ruling chiefs in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam came under Pāṇḍya superemacy. There are many records showing Śambuvarāya subordination to the Pāṇḍyas[3].

Contribution to Religion and Arts:

Like the other feudatories, the Śambuvarāyas followed a liberal religious policy supporting all creeds. Most of their records contain their benefactions to temples and *maṭhas*. We shall note here the most important of them bearing on religion and arts.

Śaivism:

An inscription of Kulōttuṅga II Chōḷa dated 6th year (A D. 1139) describes Seṅgēṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Nālāyiravaṉ as Śivālayasandōḷaṉ

[1] 236 of 1910; 93 and 108 of 1939-40; 302 and 303 of 1912.

[2] 111 of 1939-40; 457 of 1921; 48, 49 and 53 of 1922.

[3] e.g., 231 of 1922; 456 and 463 of 1925; 180, 188 and 189 of 1939 40.

i.e., one who brings happiness to Śiva temples[1] This chief may be identified with Seṅgēṇi Nālāyiravaṉ Ammaiyappaṉ alias Rājēndrasōḻa Śambuvarāya. Seven years later this Śambuvarāya founded a Śiva temple called Tirukkōtisvaram - Uḍaiyār at Peruvēḷūr (S. Arcot. dt.) and endowed 12 *vēli* of land for worship and offerings and for festivals therein and another 12 *vēli* of land for the maintenance of ten Bhaṭṭas versed in the *Vēdās* and *Sāstras* and a Śaivāchārya[2].

An epigraph of Rājādhirāja II Chōḷa dated 7th year (A.D. 1170), records the building of the *gōpura* of the Chandramaulīsvara temple at Tiruvakkarai (S. Arcot dt.) by Ammaiyappaṉ Kaṇḍar Sūriyaṉ Śambuvarāya who took the Pāṇḍya country[3]. This Śambuvarāya was an important feudatoay of both Rājādhirāja II Chōḷa and Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa. That the temple mentioned above, was built by this chief is clear from a record[4]. In the second year of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa (A. D. 1180) the same Śambuvarāya erected a thousand pillared *maṇḍapa* called Kaṇḍar Sūriyaṉ in the same temple[5]. Two years latter he endowed a whole village to the temple at Brahmadēśam (S. Arcot. dt.) for worship and procession of the god on the day of the asterism Aviṭṭam[6]. Fourteen years later (A. D. 1196), the same chief erected the second *gōpura* of this temple[7].

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[1]163 of 1915.
[2]512 of 1937-38.
[3]195 of 1904.
[4]183 of 1918.
[5]190 of 1904.
[6]176 of 1918.
[7]*ibid.*

An inscription of Rājādhirāja II Chōḷa dated 11th year (A. D. 1174) describes a gift for repairing the '*Edirigaṇāyaṉ tirumāḷigai*' and other structures in the Āḍavallēsvara temple at Muṉṉūr (S. Arcot dt.) by Seṅgēni Ammaiyappaṉ Sīyaṉ Pallavāṇḍāṉ alias Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāyaṉ[1]. This Śambuvarāya was a vassal of Rājādhirāja II Chōḷa. Another gift to the same temple was made by the same Śambuvarāya for celebrating the hunting festival in the same temple[2].

In the 13th year of Rājarāja III Chōḷa (A. D. 1229) a gift was made by Seṅgēṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Rājarāja Śambuvarāyaṉ for a flower garden and other requirements of the temple at Muṉṉūr[3]. This Śambuvarāya should not be confounded with his namesake mentioned above. Another epigraph of the same Chōḷa dated 14th year (A. D. 1230), mentions the gift by Seṅgēṇi Vīrapperumāḷ Attimallaṉ Edirilisōḷa Śambuvarāya of an entire village to the Vēdapurīsvara temple at Tiruvattiyūr (N. Arcot. dt.)[4]. Some time later a certain Vikramasōḷa Śambuvarāya resumed it, probably during the period of Kōpperuñjiṅga I's revolt. But in A. D. 1233 at the instance of the original donor, half of the village was returned to the temple and the other half was kept for feeding itinerent *mahēśvaras* in the Pushpagiri *Jiyarmaṭha*[5]. The donor was a loyal vassal of the Chōḷa emperor.

The Ammaiyappēsvara temple at Paḍavēḍu was built by Śambukulaperumāḷ alias Rājagambhīra Śambuvarāyaṉ[6]. An inscription

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[1] 71 of 1919.
[2] 52 of 1919.
[3] 57 of 1919.
[4] 105 of 1939 - 40.
[5] 106 of 1939 - 40.
[6] T. V. Sadasiva Pandarthar, *Tamiḻ poḻil*, Vol. II, p. 148; *contra*, *S. I. I.* Vol. I, No. 78 notes.

of this chief dated Saka 1180 records his gifts to this temple[1]. In the 44th year of Rājarāja III Chōḷa (A. D. 1260), a servant of Pallavāṇḍār alias Edirilisōḻa Śambuvarāya constructed the *nṛittamaṇḍapa* of the Śiva temple at Vriñchipuram (N. Arcot dt.)[2].

Vaishṇavism :

An inscription of Vikrama Chōḷa dated 11th year (A. D. 1129) records the endowment by the residents of Uttamasōḻa-*vaḷanāḍu* of the village of Sittiramēḻinallūr as a dēvadāṇa to the temple of Ammai-Viṇṇagar-Tiruvirundāḻvār and his consort, built by Śeṅgēṇi Śambugarājan Nālāyiravaṉ Ammaiyappaṉ alias Rājēndrasōḻa Sambugarājan on the Tiruvēdimalai (hill) at Vayalūr[3]. This chieftain was feudatory to Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa and his two immediate successors. An epigraph of Kulōttunga III Chōḷa dated 8th year (A. D. 1186) refers to the gifts of Rājarāja Śambuvarāyaṉ to the Vijayarāghavaperumāḷ temple at Tiruppukuḻi (Chingleput dt.)[4]. This Śambuvarāya must be identified with his namesake who took the Pāṇḍya country. From some of the records[5] found at Poygai (N. Arcot dt.) we learn that Seṅgēṇi Vīrāsaṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Aḻagiyasōḻaṉ alias Edirilisōḻa Śambuvarāya, a vassal of Rājarāja III Chōḷa, was a patron of Vaishṇavism.

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. I, No. 78.

[2] 192 of 1939-40.

[3] 422 of 1922.

[4] 184 of 1916.

[5] *S. I. I.* Vol. I, Nos. 59, 61 and 64.

The temple of Edirilisōḷa Viṇṇagar Emperumāṉ at Atti (N. Arcot dt.) must have been a very old one. Āḷappiṟandāṉ alias Rājarāja Śambuvarāya who was subordinate to Rājarāja III and later to Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla made a gift to the shrine of Lord Krishṇa founded by Ammaināchchi alias Pālāṟṟil-veṉṟar in that Vishṇu temple at Atti[1]. It is likely that this Ammaināchchi was connected with a Śambuvarāya family and that the name Pālāṟṟil-veṉṟar denotes that her husband had won a battle there.

Jainism:

There are a few records about Śambuvarāya patronage of Jainism. An inscription of Rājādhirāja II Chōḷa dated 10th year (A. D. 1173) records a gift of land (Paḷḷisandam) by Pāṇḍināḍu-koṇḍāṉ alias Śeṅgēṇi to the Jain temple at Siṟṟāmūr (S. Arcot dt.)[2]. This Śambuvarāya is identical with Rājarāja Śambuvarāyar. Another epigraph from Perumāṇḍūr (S. Arcot dt.) dated 14th year of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa, (A. D. 1192) records the construction of the temple of Jain goddess and endowment of land by Rājarāja Śambuvarāyar alias Kaṇḍar Sūriyaṉ in the local Jain temple[3]. This Śambuvarāya is the same as Pāṇḍināḍukoṇḍāṉ. Another inscription of the same Chōḷa emperor from the same place dated 15th year (A. D 1193) mentions a gift by the same chief to the same temple of Jain goddess[4].

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[1] 303 of 1912.

[2] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII No. 820; 202 of 1902.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 846; 219 of 1902.

[4] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII No. 848; 221 of 1902.

There are a few interesting references to the heterodox sect, Ājīvikas, in some Śambuvarāya records[1]. The Ājīvikas were taxed by the Chōḷa emperor and his Śambuvarāya feudatories. The details of this levy are unknown. Generally, the Chōḷa emperors and their vassals supported all sects. The evidence in question is not so conclusive as to warrant the conclusion that the tax was a poll-tax. No other instance of such discrimination in taxation against a particular sect is available. It is therefore likely that, as some scholars think, the lay Ājīvikas constituted a professional group capable of paying a tax to the government. It is too much to say anything more on this in the present state of our knowledge. The most interesting point in this connection, is the survival in the Tamil country of this very ancient sect.

Learning:

Of Śambuvarāya patronage of learning we do not have sufficient evidence. According to a record of Kulōttuṅga II Chōḷa[2], Seṅgēṇi Nālāyiravaṉ Ammaiyappaṉ alias Rājēndrasōḻa Śambuvarāyaṉ made a gift of land for the maintenance in the temple at Peruvēḷūr of ten Bhaṭṭas versed in the *Vēdās* and *Sāstras*, one Śaivāchārya and one Vāidya.

To sum up, the evidence about the Śambuvarāyas is highly insufficient for a detailed analysis of their role in Chōḷa imperial affairs. The possibility of their participation in Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa's wars with the Pāṇḍyas and the E. Gaṅgas is there, though we lack specific evidence about it. Seṅgēṇi Nālāyiravaṉ Ammaiyappaṉ alias

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[1]*S. I. I.* Vol VII, No. 59, 61, 64 and 78. For full details of the Ājīvika sect see A. L. Basham - *The Ājīvikas*.

[2]512 of 1937-38.

Rājēndrasōḷa Śambuvarāya was the most popular Śambuvarāya chief. The later part of Rājādhirāja II Chōḷa's reign saw the beginning of dissensions among the Śambuvarāyas and the resultant private political pacts. Still they were deeply interested in saving the empire from the hostile Pāṇḍya-Ceylonese alliance, and one Śambuvaraya chief sought divine intercession in this matter and another fought and won a battle against the Pāṇḍyas. In the reign of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa, the Śambuvarāyas moved closely with the Kāḍavarāyas, the Chēdirāyas and the Yādavarāyas. They even had an ephemeral alliance with Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ, the Kāḍava chieftain. Later they combined with other feudatories against the Kāḍava and Bāṇa chiefs. But all the Śumbuvarāya chiefs did not adopt any uniform policy in this matter. Still, no Śambuvarāya chief dared to defy the emperor. During the period of Kōpperuñjiṅga I's revolt most of the Śambuvarāya leaders seem to have stood by the Chōḷa emperor. The fact that the Śambuvarāyas are not referred to as enemies in the contemporary Hoysaḷa records strengthens our view. No record of Rājēndra III Chōḷa indicates Śambuvaraya subordination to him. On the other hand, we have definite evidenee that he won a victory over them. After that, some Śambuvaraya chiefs became independent and others were subordinate to the Telugu-Chōḷa ruler, Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla who exercised his sway in the Śambuvarāya territory in the reign of the last Chōḷa emperor. In short, long before Jaṭāvarmaṇ Sundara I Pāṇḍya's historic invasion of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam the Chōḷa emperor lost his hold on the Śambuvarāyas.

As regards the role of the Śambuvarāyas in the cultural Progress of the empire, it must be admitted that their contribution to religion, learning and arts is not very much.

CHAPTER-X

THE YĀDAVARĀYAS.

The Yādavarāyas were another feudatory power figuring in Imperial Chōḷa records from the time of Vikrama Chōḷa. They ruled over portions of northern Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam round about Kāḷahasti although their records are found in a wider area. As regards their origin, Mr. Vridhagirisan rejects the mythological claim that they descended from Yadu of lunar race through the Chāḷukyas, and says that they 'assumed the title of Yādavarāyas probably because of their occupation of the pastoral regions on the slopes of Veṅkadam hills' (i.e., Tirupati hills) and that when they grew in political power they bore the titles of Eastern Chāḷukyas[1]. There is much in support of this view, and the earlier chiefs ruling from Puḍōli in the Venkatagiri division of the Nellore district were known as Karuppāṟuḍaiyāṉs. Later they called themselves Yādavarāyas. Kāḷahasti from where many of their records come, seems to have been the seat of their

[1] J. *I. H.* Vol. XXVII (1938) pp. 38-40.

government They had a garland, an elephant and a white umbrella for their emblem[1].

The earliest Yādavarāya chief is perhaps Nāraṇadēva mentioned with Chāḷukya titles[2]. Probably he is identical with Nāraṇadēva alias Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Karuppāṟuḍaiyāṉ[3], He seems to have been a younger contemporary of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa. His son, Nāraṇadēvaṉ Puḍōlaraisaṉ alias Vikramasōḻa Karuppāṟuḍaiyāṉ[4] was a feudatory of Vikrama Chōḷa. He is identical with Ghaṭṭidēva Mahārāja alias Vikramasōḻa Karuppāṟuḍaiyāṉ[5]. Since he is described as Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Puḍōliyaraiyaṉ[6], he must have been a provincial governor ruling from Puḍōli. Apart from this, we have no information about the political careers of the two feudatories. The second chief is identified with Ghaṭṭidēvaṉ alias Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Yādavarāya mentioned in record of Kulōttuṅga II Chōḷa[7] on the ground that both had the name Ghaṭṭidēvaṉ and figure in a comparatively short period. But the possibility of Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Yādavarāya being the successor of the first chief viz., Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vikramasōḻa Karuppāṟuḍaiyāṉ alias Ghaṭṭidēva Mahārāja cannot be ruled out.

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[1]*T. D. Inss.* Vol. I, p 122.

[2]266 of 1904; Also see K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, old Ed. Vol. II, p 78 Fn.

[3]*S. I. I* Vol. VIII, No. 511; 212 of 1903.

[4]*ibid.*

[5]155 of 1922.

[6]*ibid*

[7]83 of 1922; Kulōttuṅga of this record is wrongly identified with Kulōttuṅga III. See *T. D Inss.* Vol. I Intro. p. 102.

The next known Yādavarāya chief Araiyaṉ Vīrasōḻaṉ alias Yādavarāya, figures in a record of Rājādhirāja II Chōḷa dated 11th year (A. D. 1174)[1]. He was in charge of Vāṇakōppādi[2] His relationship to the preceding chief is not known. Still, there is no doubt that he must have been an important vassal of Rājādhirāja II.

After this chief till we come to the reign of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa we do not hear of any Yādavarāya feudatory. There were more than two Yādavarāya chiefs in the time of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa. The earliest among them is Narasiṅga Tirukkāḷattidēva alias Yādavarāya (c. A. D 1185-1231) mentioned in an epigraph of Kulōttuṅga dated 7th year[3]. The expression, Narasiṅga Tirukkāḷattidēva, is interpreted as Tirukkāḷattidēva, son of Narasiṅga[4] This is very probable but Narasiṅga's identification with a later chief of that name is certainly wrong[5]. Mr. Vridhagirisan identifies this Trikkāḷattidēva with Narasiṅgaṉ Tirukkāḷattidēvaṉ alias Rājādhirāja Yādavarāya[6], referred to in a record of Rājarāja III[7]. Though the date of the record falls within the period of this chief the identification

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[1]*S. I I* Vol. V. No 663; 102 of 1895.

[2]*ibid*.

[3]94 of 1903; *S. I I* VIII, No. 379. The reference to this Tirukkāḷattidēva in a record of his son-in-law Allun Tirukkāḷattidēva dated Saka 1168 (A. D. 1246) need not necessarily mean that the Yādavarāya continued to rule till that time. contra, Vridhagirisan, *op.cit.*, p. 42.

[4]*T. D. Inss*, Vol. I, p. 107.

[5]Vridhagirisan, *op.cit.*, pp. 41 and 42.

[6]*ibid*.

[7]136 of 1922.

requires more specific evidence because in the records of the earlier Tirukkāḷattidēva the title of Rājādhirāja is not mentioned. Perhaps Rājādhirāja Yādavarāya was a different ruler. It is significant that no record of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa mentions this Yādavarāya.

As regards Tirukkāḷattidēva's political career the available evidence is not of much help for any investigation. His inscriptions are mostly donative. All that we know of his political activity is that he was subordinate to the Chōḷas that he had close relations with the Telugu Chōḷas of Nellore and that his authority extended over portions of the North Arcot, Chingleput and Chittoor districts[1]. Some times he issued records in his own name[2].

(2) Siṅgapiḷḷai alias Vīrarākshata Yādavarāya was the son of Tirukkāḷattidēva Yādavarāya[3]. No details of his career except his gifts are known.

(3) Rājamalladēvar alias Yādavarāya[4], also known as Bhujabalasiḍḍharāsar[5], (c. A. D. 1208-c. 1237) was another Yādavarāya feudatory of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa. He is described as the son of a certain Ghaṭṭidēvarāsar[6]. It is difficult to identify this Ghaṭṭidēva with his namesake who was a feudatory of Vikrama Chōḷa because of

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[1]*J. I. H.* Vol. XXVII, p. 43.

[2]*ibid*.

[3]197 of 1892, *S. I. I.* Vol. IV. No. 645; *T. D. Inss*, Vol. I, T. T. 293 and 362.

[4]122 of 1922.

[5]*N. I.* Venkatagiri, No. 11.

[6]. *J. I. H.* Vol. XXVII p. 44.

the very long interval more i.e. than 70 years[1]; nor is it possible to identify him with another Yādavarāya of the same name figuring in the reign of Rājarāja III Chōḷa[2]. The fact that most of the records of this Rājamalla Yādavarāya come from Venkatagiri division of the Nellore district suggests that that area must have been his jurisdiction. His epigraphs do not help us much in knowing his political career. All that we know of him is that he was a Chōḷa feudatory and that the Telugu Chōḷas of Nellore were subordinate or related to him. Madurāntaka Pottapi Chōḷa Eṟṟasiddharāsa was probably under the control of this Yādavarāya[3].

(4) Another Yādavarāya vassal of Kulōttuṅga III was Saśikula Saḷukki Taṉiniṉṟuveṉṟa Vīra-Narasiṅgadēva alias Yādavarāya[4] (c. A. D. 1209 - c. 1263). Mr. Vridhagirisan rightly rejects the identification of this Yādavarāya with Siṅgapiḷḷai alias Vīrarākshata[5]. This Vīra-Narasiṅga Yādavarāya is certainly different from a later chief of the same name whose record dated in Śaka year 1208 (A. D. 1286) is available[6]. In spite of the existence of many records, his political career is not very much known. His title 'Taṉiniṉṟuveṉṟa Vīra-Narasiṅga' does indicate that he fought and won some important battle unaided by other chiefs in the reign of

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[1] *contra*, *ibid*.
[2] *contra*, *T. D. Inss.*, Vol. I, p. 102.
[3] *N. I.* Venkatagiri Nos. 7, 10 and 11 *contra*, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op.cit.*, old. Ed., Vol. II p. 169.
[4] 640 of 1904; 93 of 1903; *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 378; 120 and 156 of 1922.
[5] *op.cit.*, p. 47.
[6] 215 of 1903; Also see 142 of 1942-43. He is mentioned in a record of A. D. 1298.

Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa. Unfortunately, no details of the battle are available. But one thing is certain; this could not be any of the major war waged by the Chōḷa emperor.

In the reign of Rājarāja III Chōḷa this Yādavarāya fought a battle with the Kāḍavaraya chief Kōpperuñjiṅga I at Uratti in the Chingleput district[1]. As the Kāḍava records are silent on this battle, the Yādavarāya must have triumphed over Kōpperuñjiṅga I. The cause of this conflict is not known. There is no indication that the Chōḷa emperor was involved in this battle[2]. As regards the part played by this Yādavarāya in the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya wars and his relations with the Chōḷa emperor during the period of Kōpperuñjiṅga I's revolt, no details are available. That this Yādavarāya was loyal to the Chōḷa emperor is clear from Rājarāja III Chōḷa's records dated up to the 14th year[3]. After that also some Yādavarāya chiefs figure as Chōḷa vassals[4]. But we do not know for certain if this Vīra-Narasiṅga Yādavarāya could be any one of those unnamed Yādavarāya chiefs. The fact that the Hoysaḷas do not claim any victories over the Yādavarāyas during the period suggests that the Yādavarāyas did not side with the rebel Kāḍava chieftain.

Later this Yādavarāya ruler seems to have come under the growing sway of the Telugu Chōḷa Vīra-Gaṇḍagōpāla. An inscription

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[1]271 of 1904.

[2]*contra*, Vridhagirisan, *op.cit.*, p. 48.

[3]275 of 1904.

[4]306 of 1953-54; 221 of 1903; *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 520; 494 of 1902; *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 84.

from Kāñchi lends support to this view[1]. After this we hear of Vīra-Narasiṅga Yādavarāya again at the time of Jatāvarmaṇ Sundara I Pāṇḍya. A 12th year record of that Pāṇḍya from Chittoor district[2] mentions a gift by Yādavarāyaṇ Vīra-Narasiṅgadēvaṇ. This leads us to the conclusion that the Yādavarāya chief, like the Kāḍava Kōpperuñjiṅga II, must have shifted his loyalty to the Pāṇḍya emperor. Vīra-Narasiṅga Yādavarāya had matrimonial alliance with Tikka I of the Nellor kingdom. He was the most distinguished Yādavarāya chieftain.

(2) Another Yādavarāya feudatory of Rājarāja III Chōḷa was Ghaṭṭidēva (c. A. D. 1221 - 1227)[4]. He may be identified with Saḷukki Nārāyaṇa Yādavarāya alias Ghaṭṭidēva[5] There are a few records of this chief and they throw no light on his political or military career. This Yādavarāya married the daughter of Sīyagaṅga[6].

(3) Yet another Yādavarāya vassal of Rājarāja III Chōḷa was Narasiṅgaṇ Tirukkāḷattidēvaṇ alias Rājādhirāja Yādavarāya mentioned in a record of that emperor dated 12th year i.e., A. D. 1228[7]. As explained above, he must be different from Tirukkāḷattidēva Yādavarāya. Possibly Rājādhirāja Yādavarāya was his successor. No information is available about his career except a gift made by him.

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[1] 659 of 1904.

[2] 186 of 1937-38.

[3] 46 of 1893; *S. I. I.* Vol. IV, No. 859.

[4] 232 of 1903 *N. I.* Venkatagiri 6.

[5] 210 of 1903; *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII No. 509.

[6] 149 of 1922.

[7] 136 of 1922.

(4) A fourth Yādavarāya feudatory of the same Chōḷa emperor was Seṉṉi Tirukkāḷattidēvaṉ alias Yādavarāya (c. A. D. 1234).[1] We know nothing about this chief except his gift to the temple at Tirupati.

Inscriptions of Rājēndra III Chōḷa mention no Yādavarāya feudatories. As stated above, the Yādavarāyas seem to have come under the control of the Telugu Chōḷa rulers. Later they were conquered along with the Telugu Chōḷas[2] by the Pāṇḍyas under Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya.

Contribution to Religion and Culture:

Almost all the inscriptions of the Yādavarāyas record their gifts to temples, Śiva and Vishṇu. It is needless to catalogue them. We shall note the most important epigraphs showing their service to Śaivism and Vaishṇavism and to culture.

Śaivism:

Vikramasōḻa Karuppāṟuḍaiyāṉ, a feudatory of Vikrama Chōḷa, is known to have converted the Parasurāmēśvara temple at Guḍimallam (N. Arcot dt) into a stone temple and made gifts of land for the merit of his father Nāraṇadēva alias Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Karuppāṟuḍaiyāṉ[3] Ghaṭṭidēvaṉ alias Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Yādavarāyaṉ made provision for

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[1] 185 of 1937-38.

[2] *T. D Inss.* Vol. I, T. T. 164 and 165.

[3] *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII No. 511.

feeding Brāhmins, *tapaşvins*, in the 6th year of Kulōttuṅga II Chōḷa (A. D. 1139)[1]. Narasiṅga Trukkāḷattidēva, Yādavarāya, one of the successors of the preceding chief, made a gift of land to the same temple in the 7th year of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa (A.D.1185)[2]. Six years later his senior wife, Puḍōliyadēvi, made a gift of taxes to the temple at Tiruviḷambūdūr, Chingleput dt.[3] The same Yādavarāya and his son Siṅgapiḷḷai made many gifts including a salt-pan to the temple at Kāḷahasti[4]. In the 17th year of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa (A. D. 1195) the same Yādavarāya chieftain made a gift of land to the Śiva temple at Takkōlam, N. Arcot dt.[5] In the 10th year of Rājarāja III Chōḷa (A. D. 1226) the same Yādavarāya's wife made a gift to the temple at Kāḷahasti[6]. Five years later the same Yādavarāya endowed a village for founding and maintaining a *maṭha* on the hill at Kāḷahasti[7]. In spite of his ardency in Vaishṇavism, Rājamalla Yādavarāya supported Śaivism. One of his records at Nāgapuḍōli mentions a gift of lands to the local Śiva temple[8] and another at Kāḷahasti[9] mentions his gift of a car to the Śiva temple there. A 9th year record of Rājarāja III Chōḷa (A. D. 1225) from Pāḍi, Chingleput dt., records the gift by Saḷukki Nāraṇaṉ Yadavarāya of two gardens and two houses

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[1]83 of 1922.

[2]94 of 1903; *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII No. 379.

[3]133 of 1940-41.

[4]95 of 1903; 197 of 1892.

[5]*S. I. I.* Vol. V, No. 1379; 16 of 1897.

[6]181 of 1903; *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 480.

[7]172 of 1903; *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 469.

[8]*N. I.* Venkatagiri, No. 11.

122 of 1922.

to the local Śiva temple[1]. This Yādavarāya is the same as Ghaṭṭidēva alias Nārāyaṇa Yādavarāya referred to in another epigraph of the same emperor[2], as making a gift of land to the Parasurāmēśvara temple at Guḍimallam. In A. D. 1228 Rājādhirāja Yādavarāya made the gift of a village to the temple at Kāḷahasti for feeding pilgrims[3]. Taṉiniṉṟuveṉṟa Vīranarasiṅga Yādavarāya provided the same temple with a flower garden in A. D. 1209[4]. The same Yādavarāya made the gift of a village to the temple at the foot of the hill in the same place, for worship, offerings and repairs in the 7th year of Rājarāja III Chōḷa (A. D. 1223)[5]. Next year the same Yādavarāya founded a flower garden called *Vīranarasiṅgadēvaṉtirunandavaṉam* for the temple at Kāḷahasti[6]. Again in the same year, he consecrated the image of god Mallikārjuṉā and provided for its worship in the temple of Maṇikaṇḍēśvara at Kāḷahasti[7], and assigned all taxes due to him to the temple at Tirupāchchūr, Chingleput dt.[8]. Next year the same Yādavarāya made the gift of a village to the god Vīranarasimhēśvaram-Uḍaiya-Nāyaṉār set up by him in the verandah round the central shrine of the temple at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, Chingleput dt.[9].

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[1] 218 of 1910.

[2] 210 of 1903.

[3] 136 of 1922.

[4] 120 of 1922.

[5] 83 of 1945-46.

[6] 183 of 1903; *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 482.

[7] 200 of 1903; *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 499.

[8] 149 of 1929-30.

[9] 227 of 1912.

Vaishṇavism :

That the Yādavarāyas patronised Vaishṇavism as much as they did Śaivism is clear from their records. Tirukkāḷattidēva Yādavarāya made the gift of a village to Lord Veṅkatēsa at Tirupati in the reign of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa[1]. Rājamalladēva Yādavarāya also known as Bhujabalasiddharāsa consecrated a deity in the name of Yādava Nārāyaṇa and installed it in the suburb of Nāgapuḍōli and founded a Brāhmin settlement called Rājamalla Chaturvēdimaṅgalam[2]. The editor of the *Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions* says that the deity must have been named after a predecessor of this Rājamalla Yādavarāya[3] Without ruling out the possibility, we may say that the conclusion requires more specific evidence. 'The dedication of the village of Nāgapuḍōli by Rājamalla, and of the tank named Kamala-Mahādēvi-Puttēri constructed by Kamala Mahādēvi alias Bejjadēvi, the consort of Rājamalla, with some of the lands lying below the tank .... were conducted through the agency of Madurāntaka Pottapichchōḍa Eṟṟa-Siddharāsa. It is stated that Rājamalla brought Eṟṟa–Siddharāsa for the purpose and that he caused the grants with libation of water by the Telugu Chola chief'[4]. Tirukkāḷattidēva Yādavarāya's son Siṅgapiḷḷai alias Vīrarākshata made a gift of land to the Vishṇu at Tirupati[5].

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[1]*J. I. H.* Vol. XXVII, p. 43.

[2]*N. I.* - Venkatagiri 10 and 2.

[3]Vol. I. p. 102.

[4]*T. D. Inss.* Vol. I. p. 103.

[5]*T. D. Inss* , Vol. I, No. 81.

Tanininruvenra VīraNarasinga Yādavarāya and his queen made several gifts to the two temples of Tirupati[1]. One of the epigraphs from the Govindarājaperumāḷ temple at Tirupati records a gift by the queen for the Āṇi festival established there by her and for necessary improvements to the temple with the balance[2]. The same record refers to a four-faced car constructed by her and provision for its decoration and repair[3]. Another epigraph from the same temple refers to a flower garden named after Yādava Nārāyaṇaṇ[4]. Another inscription of the same chief from the temple of Lord Veṅkaṭēsa states that he performed *Tulārōhaṇa* ceremony (i. e., weighing oneself against gold) and presented that gold to the temple of Sri Veṅkaṭēśvara for gilding the *Vimāṇam* and other structures. This gave a golden lustre to the temple by which the Vēṅkaṭa hill equlled Mount Mēru in appearance[5]. Another record from the same place confirms the view that the renovation of the temple must have been carried out in his time[6]. It is interesting to note that this Yādavarāya's father-in-law, Āṇḍār, is described as Parasamayakōḷari i.e., the destroyer of the rival philosophical tenets[7].

To conclude, the history of the Yādavarāyas is lacking in essential details, genealogical, chronological and political, and so, does

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[1]*ibid* Nos. 84, 85, 87, 88 and 91.
[2]*ibid* No. 86.
[3]*ibid*
[4]*ibid* No. 90.
[5]*ibid* No. 9 .
[6]*S. I I.* Vol. IV No. 290.
[7]*T D. Inss.* Vol. I no. 35.

not help us much in knowing their role in imperial affairs. In the earlier period of their history, as local rulers they seem to have safeguarded the imperial interests in the northern part of the empire. There is a big gap in their history after Kulōttuṅga II Chōḷa and before Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa. In the time of the latter and his successor, the Yādavarāyas became very prominent and maintained very intimate contact with the Telugu Chōḷas of Nellore. The Yādavarāya-Telugu Chōḷa alliance served as a counterpoise to the growing menace from the defiant Bāṇa and Kāḍava rulers particularly Kōpperujñiṅga I and his son. That the relations between the Yādavarāyas and the Kāḍavas were unfriendly in the time of Rājarāja III Chōḷa, is clear from inscriptional evidence. No information is available about Yādavarāya role in the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya wars of the 13th century. In the time of Rājēndra III Chōḷa, the Yādavarāyas came under the imperial sway of Jaṭāvarman Sundara I Pāṇḍya.

Like other Chōḷa feudatories, the Yādavarāyas patronised both Śaivism and Vaishṇavism and were deeply attached to the temples of Kāḷahasti and Tirupati. But as patrons of arts, they were not as prominent as the Kāḍava or Bāṇa rulers.

CHAPTER-XI

THE TELUGU CHŌḶAS

The Telugu Chōḷas, also known as Chōḍas, were different from the Imperial Chōḷas, and claimed descent from the Saṅgam Chōḷa ruler, Karikāla. They must have migrated to the Telugu country during the Kaḷabhra interregnum[1]. There were many dynasties of the Telugu Chōḷas ruling over different parts of Āndhra, and the sources, epigraphical and literary, of their history are so inadequate and the genealogical and chronological uncertainties so many that a thorough analysis of their history for our purpose is a little difficult.

No reference to the Telugu Chōḷas is found in Imperial Chōḷa records before the time of Rājarāja I Chōḷa. The reason is not far to seek. The expansion of the Chōḷa empire beyond the Tamil country started in the time of that emperor, and a few records of the period

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[1]For their early history *vide* M. S. Govindasamy *op. cit.*, Chap. V.

refer to the Telugu Chōḷas. An inscription of Rājarāja I Chōḷa from the South Arcot district mentions the daughter of a certain Pottapich Sōḻar Sattiyaraiyar[1]. He is probably identical with Kottapich Sōḻar (*Sic*), referred to in a Rājakēsari record dated 2nd year and ascribable to the same emperor[2]. No other details of this Telugu Chōḷa are known, and both the records come from the heart of the Tamil country.

After this till we come to the reign of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa we do not hear of the Telugu Chōḷa feudatories although Rājarāja I's successors exercised their sway over the greater part of the Telugu country. The records of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa mention the following Telugu Chōḷa feudatories:

1. Gaṅgaikoṇḍāṉ Rājarājadēva alias Kottappich Sōḻar (A.D. 1074.)[3].
2. Puttapi Kāmadēva Chōḍa Mahārāja[4] (A. D. 1106).
3. Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Karikāla Chōḍa Mahārāju[5] (A D. 1107).
4. Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Sūraparāja of Bīragōṭṭa[6] (A. D. 1113).
5. Goṅka I and his son Chōḍa of Velanāṇḍu or Velanāṇṭi[7].

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[1]49 of 1918.

[2]*S. I. I.* Vol. XIII, No. 16.

[3]415 of 1904-Tanjore dt.

[4]262, 263 and 267 of 1905.

[5]265 of 1905.

[6]405 of 1893.

[7]*E. I.* Vol. IV. No. 4.

Of these, the first was very probably an official in the imperial service[1]. The second chief is identical with the third. He must have been governor of a part of the Kurnool district. The mention of Śaka year instead of the regnal year of the ruling emperor[2], need not necessarily lead us to the conclusion that he was an independent ruler. Many Telugu rulers, loyal to the Imperial Chōḷas, did so. Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa's hold on the Telugu country was intact as evidenced by the existence of his records there. The fourth chief also must be a provincial governor as his title shows. Bīragōṭṭa may be identified with Būrugukōṭa in the Ellāvaram division of East Godavari district. No other details, political or military, are available about these feudatories.

Goṅka I and his son Chōḍa (identical with Rājēndra I Chōḍa) were rulers of Velanāṇṭi or Velanāṇḍu in Āndhra. Velanāṇḍu with its capital at Sandavōlu must have comprised the Repalle taluk of the present Guntur district[3]. Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa's relations with Goṅka I were so intimate and friendly that, according to the Piṭhāpuram inscription[4] he adopted the latter's son, Chōḍa, and towards the close of his reign conferred the governorship of Vēṅgimaṇḍala on that prince. This must have happened consequent on Vikrama I Chōḷa's recall from Vēṅgi. Probably soon after this, Western Chāḷukya Vikramāditya VI succeeded in establishing his control over

[1]On the basis of some doubtful interpretation of the details of the record, this chief is assigned to the period of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa, *S. I. I.* Vol. XVII No. 445 Intro.

[2]267 of 1905.

[3]*vide*, *E I* Vol. IV. No. 4.

[4]*ibid*.

Vēṅgimaṇḍala and the neighbouring districts. No inscription of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa dated after his 49th year is found there[1]. Further, an inscription of Goṅka I's son, Rājēndra Chōḍa, dated in Chāḷukya Vikrama Year 45 and Saka 1042 (i. e., A. D. 1120) undoubtedly proves the shift in the loyalty of the Velanāṇḍu chief to the Chōḷa emperor[2]. Not only the Velanāṇḍu chief but many other Telugu feudatories submitted to the victorious W. Chāḷukya emperor[3]. But this triumph of the Chāḷukya emperor was only temporary.

Vikrama Chōḷa who became heir-apparent in A. D. 1118 and who succeeded his father two years later, had the following Telugu vassals:

(1) Velanāṇḍu Rājēndra I Chōḍa (c. A. D. 1118-c. 1130). He is the same as Sōḻiyaṉ alias Rājendrasōḻa Gaṅgayarājaṉ referred to in an epigraph of Vikrama Chōḷa[4] dated 12th year.

(2) His son, Goṅka II, is mentioned in another record of Vikrama Chōḷa from the same place[5]. Obviously consequent on Vikrama Chōḷa's victory over the W. Chāḷukyas the Velanāṇḍu chief must have again shifted his loyalty to the Chōḷa emperor, and an inscription from the Guntur district of this chieftain confirms this

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[1] *The Cōḷas*, p. 329.

[2] 345 of 1893.

[3] *ibid*.

[4] 112 of 1922.

[5] 103 of 1922; 168 of 1897.

conclusion[1]. The Durjaya chiefs of Kollipāka also followed the policy of the Velanāṇḍu chief.

(3) There is clear evidence that W. Chāḷukya Vikramāditya VI ruled over at least a part of the Cuddapah district till A. D. 1124 and that some Telugu Chōḷa rulers were for some time subordinate to him[2]. But that state of affairs did not continue for long. Vikrama Chōḷa began his efforts for the reconquest of the lost Telugu territory soon after his accession. One of his records from Nandalūr (Cudappah dt.) dated 3rd year (A. D. 1121) records a grant for the success of the king's (i.e., Vikrama's) arms[3]. Another epigraph of the same Chōḷa emperor from the same place dated 8th year mentions a similar gift[4]. Naturally, Vikrama Chōḷa must have fought a fairly long war with his Chāḷukya adversary. Some Pottapi rulers like Mahārāja Ghaṭṭiaṇṇa, stood by the W. Chāḷukyas[5]. Those who supported the Chōḷa emperor in this war were: (i) Madurāntaka Pottapi Chōḍa Siddharāsa (ii) His son, Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vimalādityadēva (iii) and grandson, Sōmīśvara[6]. (iv) Kaṉṉaradēva alias Rājēndrasōḷa, son of Kāmarāsar, a feudatory of Kulōttuṅga I[7]. (v) Bettarāsa, another Pottapi

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[1] 163 and 153 of 1897. According to some Velanāṇḍu records Goṅka II fought against the W. Chāḷukyas, probably in this conflict. *J. A. H. R. S* Vol. V. p. 70; *S. I. I.* Vol. IV, No. 1182.

[2] 350 of 1905.

[3] 583 of 1907.

[4] 579 of 1907.

[5] *Mys. Gaz* Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 817.

[6] 579 and 611 of 1907.

[7] 102 of 1922.

Chōḍa[1], probably identical with Siddhi Beta defeated by Velanāṇḍu Rājēndra I Chōḍa[2]. No further details of the role of these chiefs in the war are available.

It seems that Vikrama Chōḷa's reconquest of the Telugu country was incomplete even as late as A. D. 1132. The chiefs of Bīragōtta who had been feudatory to Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa and who later shifted their allegiance to W. Chāḷukyas remained unsubdued by Vikrama Chōḷa till at least A. D. 1132[3].

Incidentally it may be noted that there is no convincing evidence to believe that Vikrama Chōḷa came to power with the help of W. Chāḷukya Vikramāditya VI and that he maintained friendly relations with him[4].

In the reign of Kulōttuṅga II Chōḷa we find the following Telugu Chōla feudatories :

(1) Madurāntaka Pottapi Chōḍa Siddharāsa[5]. He seems to be

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[1]583 of 1907.

[2]*J. A. H. R. S.* Vol. V, p. 68. Betta's grandfather Madurāntaka Pottapi Chōḷa is said to have conquered Madura and founded Pottapi. Similarly his father Vijjaya is said to have erected a pillar of victory with a garuḍa on its top at Ujjapuri. *The Cōlas* p. 388. But we know no details of these martial exploits.

[3]338 of 1893.

[4]*contra*, T. N. Subramaniam, *S. I. T. I.* Vol. III, Pt II, p. 91.

[5]572 of 1907.

different from his namesake who was a vassal of Vikrama Chōḷa and who was the father of Vimalādityadēva[1].

(2) Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Goṅkayaṉ alias Kulōttuṅgasōḷa Goṅkarājaṉ of Velināḍu i e., Velanāṇḍu[2]. He was the same as Goṅka II (c. A. D. 1130 - c. 1165)[3]. After A. D. 1149, this Velanāṇḍu ruler issued records dated in Śaka era without any reference to the Chōḷa emperor[4] But that need not be taken as an indication of any shift in his loyalty to the Chōḷa emperor. His successful campaign against the W. Chāḷukyas referred to in his records[5] seems to have been connected with Vikrama Chōḷa's war with them. Goṅka II is known to have ruled over all the country between Srīsailam and Mahēndra mountain[6].

(3). Another Telugu Chōḷa feudatory of Kulōttuṅga II Chōḷa was Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Ballaya Chōḍamahārāja[7]. Since his records come from the Guntur district he must have been in charge of some territory there. No further details are available about him.

(4) Yet another Telugu Chōḷa vassal was Tribhuvaṇamalladēva Chōḍamahārāja (c. A. D. 1135 c. 1150) who ruled probably from Konidena in the Guntur district[8].

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[1] *ante*,

[2] 123 of 1922.

[3] 174, 176 and 182 of 1897.

[4] 227 and 228 of 1893.

[5] *S. I. I.* Vol. IV, No. 1182.

[6] *E. I.* Vol. IV, p. 32; *J. A. H. R. S.* Vol. V, pp. 65-72.

[7] 206 and 210 of 1897.

[8] 185 and 189 of 1899.

(5) Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Bhīmanāyaka surnamed Vēṅgidēśa-Chāḷukya-aṅkakāra was another Telugu feudatory of Kulōttuṅga II Chōḷa[1].

(6) Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Bhujabalavīra Nallasiddharāsadēva Chōḍa Mahārāja of Nellore[2] was also an important vassal of the same emperor. An inscription from the Cuddappah district[3] throws interesting light on the hotilse relations between this ruler and the Pottapi rulers. According to the record dated Śaka 1082 i. e, A. D. 1160 this 'Nallasiddharāsadēva, lord of Kāñchi ruling from Nellūrupaṭṭaṇa, actuated by a desire for conquest (digvijaya) marched against Mallidēva and Sōmēśvara, the lords of Pottapi. The forces met at Doṅgalasōni (where the record is found) to the west of the confluence of the rivers Cheyyarū and Peṇṇaiyaṟū when Nallasiddha's general Mahāpradhani Sandhivigrahi Rēvaṇa-Heggaḍe mounted on horse back, routed Mallidēva, killed twelve princes including Sōmēśvara along with a thousand of their men and disabled many others, and was himself killed finally in the encounter. Then Rēvaṇa's brother, Pōtāṇa, collected a large force and after securing victory for his overlord Nallasiddharāsa, made endowments of perpetual lamps ...... in the temple of Mallikārjuna at Srīparvata and on its four gateways ....The record concludes with a statement that Sandhivigrahi Kāvana-Heggaḍe, the son of Rēvaṇa mentioned above and Dāramāmbikā consecrated an image of Vishṇu near the gateway of Paḍanāḍu and donated .... lands to Brāhmaṇas. The Tamil version of the inscription[4] which refers itself to the reign of

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[1] 172 of 1897.
[2] Nos. 9 to 12 of 1939-40.
[3] *ibid.*
[4] 12 of 1939-40.

Tribe. Kulōttuṅga Chōḷadēva informs, in addition that Mallidēva and Sōmēśvara were the sons of vimalāditya and Pōtaṇa-Heggaḍe was wounded in battle. The date given in the record (A. D. 1160) falls within the reign of Rājarāja II and the context would show that it was the date on which the battle was fought'[1].

As the record belongs to A. D. 1160, Kulōttuṅga of this inscription must be identified with Kulōttuṅga II and not with Kulōttuṅga III. Similarly, Nallasiddharāsa of this record must be certainly different from his two namesakes who were contemporaries of Kulōttuṅga III[2]. He is very probably identical with the brother and predecessor of Erṛasiddha[3]. Further Sōmēśvara of the record was a younger contemporary of Vikrama Chōḷa. So, the battle referred to in the inscription must have happened in the reign of Kulōttuṅga II Chōḷa.

As far as our purpose is concerned, the record shows beyond any doubt that a branch of the Telugu Chōḷa dynasty of Pottapi had begun ruling from Nellore even before A.D. 1160 The enmity between the Nellore and pottapi Chōḷas as evidenced by the record under consideration, is indicative of the growing freedom of the feudatories. Such trends doubtless must have weakened the imperial unity.

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[1]*A. R. E.* 1939-1943-42, pt II, p. 255.

[2]483 of 1906 and 68 of 1953-543. They figure in A. D. 1192 and 1213 and the long interval precludes their identification with this chief.

[3]*vide*, the genealogy in 343 of 1928-29. He could not be a contemporary of Kulottuṅga III.

(5) Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Bhīmanāyaka surnamed Vēṅgidēśa-Chāḷukya-aṅkakāra was another Telugu feudatory of Kulōttuṅga II Chōḷa[1].

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[1] *A. R. E.* 1939-1943-42, pt II, p. 255.

[2] 483 of 1906 and 68 of 1953-543. They figure in A. D. 1192 and 1213 and the long interval precludes their identification with this chief.

[3] *vide*, the genealogy in 343 of 1928-29. He could not be a contemporary of Kulottuṅga III.

Rājarāja II Chōḷa (A. D. 1146-1163) had the following Telugu Chōḷa feudatories :

Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tribhuvanamalladēva[1] and Goṅka II alias Kulōttuṅga, the Velanāṇḍu chief[2], continued to be Chōḷa vassals. Vimaladēvaṇ, brother of Madurāntaka Pottapichchōḍa Ma[la]madēvarāsar, acknowledges Rājarāja II Chōḷa's overlordship[3]. Another Telugu Chōḍa chief by name Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Jikkidēva Chōḍa Mahārāja, son of Potna Chōḍa, of the family of Karikāla was feudatory to the same Chōḷa emperor[4]. His territory is not known. Rājēndra Kōna Rāju, the chief of Kōnamaṇḍala, was another vassal of Rājarāja II Chōḷa[5]. Rājēndra Kōna must be identical with Rājēndra Chōḷa referred to in the Piṭhāpuram inscription of Malladēva[6]. Koṇḍapaḍumati Bhūdarāja also acknowledges Rājarāja II Chōḷa's supremacy[7]. No details about the political or military activities of these chiefs are available.

Some records of Rājarāja II Chōḷa dated later than the 19th regnal year and mentioning the Velanāṇḍu chief, Kulōttuṅga

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[1]203 of 1897; *S. I. I.* Vol. VI, No. 163.

[2]171 of 1893.

[3]104 of 1922.

[4]193 of 1897; *S. I. I.* Vol. VI, No. 153.

[5]213 of 1897, Kōnamaṇḍala is probably the Godavari delta, *E. I.* Vol. IV. p. 84.

[6]*ibid.*

216 of 1893. Koṇḍapaḍumati corresponds to the eastern part of the Sattenapalli taluk of the Guntur dt., *E.I.* Vol. VI.p. 269.

Rājēndra II Choḍa, are found in the Telugu country[1]. But no such record with such high regnal year of Rājarāja II is found in the Tamil country[2]. That Rājarāja II Chōḷa passed away in A. D. 1163 is clear from the Pallavarāyaṉpēttai inscription[3]. How could the records in Āndhra be issued in the name of Rājarāja II Chōḷa after A. D. 1163 when he was no more? Prof. Sastri who deals with this problem in some detail gives no satisfactory explanation[4]. Mr. Pandarathar regards it as a mistake of the engraver[5]. But the existence of a large number of such records renders such a view difficult, though not impossible. Prof. V. Rangacharya suggests that Rājarāja of the Telugu records with regnal years later than 19 might be the son and successor of Anantavarmaṇ Chōḍagaṅga, the Kaliṅga king[6]. But the Kaliṅga ruler, Rājarāja, also called Anantavarmaṇ Madhukāmārṇava, belongs to the period A. D. 1147-56 and that his successor Rāghava came to power in A. D. 1156[7]. Further, the contemporary Eastern Gaṅgas do not appear to have had any control over the Velanāṇḍu chiefs.

There is another possibility i. e., the Velanāṇḍu chief himself might have been called Rājarāja. A record from Drakshārāmā (Godavari dt.) is dated in the 4th regnal year of Kulōttuṅgachōḷadēva

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[1] 217, 218 and 225 of 1893; 164 of 1897; 181 of 1899.

[2] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 360; T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 126.

[3] *E. I.* Vol. XXI. No. 31.

[4] *op. cit.*, pp. 359 and 360.

[5] *op. cit.*, p. 126.

[6] *T. L. I. M. P.*, Vol; II, p. 746.

[7] Dr. Harekrushna Mahtap, *History of Orissa*, pp. 211 and 212

alias Rājarājadēva[1]. Who was this ruler? He could not be the Chōḷa emperor Kulōttuṅga II or his successor Rājarāja II. We are not certain if he is identical with Velanāṇḍu Kulōttuṅga Rājēndra II Chōḷa. Other records of that ruler do not mention the title or name of Rājarāja. It is therefore difficult in the present state of our knowledge to say anything like final in this matter. We must await further evidence. The question whether Kulōttuṅga Rājēndra II Chōḍa continued to be a Chōḷa vassal or became independent of imperial control is closely connected with this problem.

But one thing is certain i. e., Kulōttuṅga Rājēndra II Chōḍa was a contemporary of the Chōḷa emperor Rājādhirāja II. That is clear from the Śaka dates of his records. How long he was feudatory to the Chōḷas is not definitely known. But after A. D. 1172 we do not find any indication in Velanāṇḍu Chōḍa records of his subordination to the Imperial Chōḷas. Probably some time before that year, the Velanāṇḍu ruler became independent of imperial control. Rājādhirāja II Chōḷa's prolonged war with the Pāṇḍya and Ceylonese rulers, the decline of the Western Chāḷukyas and the infancy of the Kākatīya power must have facilitated the Velanāṇḍu Chōḷa's assertion of independence. Rājādhirāja II Chōḷa appears to have taken no steps against the Velanāṇḍu ruler.

Kulōttuṅga Rājēndra II Chōḍa was the last great Velanāṇḍu ruler. His death in A. D. 1181, the subsequent struggle for the throne among his sons and the rise of the Kākatīya power brought about the decline of the Velanāṇḍu Chōḷas. But the dynasty survived

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[1] 242 of 1893.

for a long time till its conquest by Kākatīya Gaṇapati in the 13th century[1]. The Pottapi rulers appear to have come under Kākatīya rule some time after the fall of the Velanāṇḍu Chōḷas early in the 13th century, and Opilisiddhi, a Pottapi Chōḷa, was a vassal of Kākatīya Gaṇapati[2].

As regards the Nellore line of the Telugu Chōḷas, already we saw the career of Nallasiddharāsa I in connection with the reign of Kulōttuṅga II Chōḷa. We are not certain if he continued to rule in the reign of Rājādhirāja II Chōḷa. But his brother and successor, Eṟṟasiddharāsa (c. A. D. 1154-c. 1181), was feudatory to that emperor as early as A. D. 1168[3]. He is probably identical with Siddhiyaraiyar of Nellore[4]. Prof. V. Rangacharaya's view that some inscription from the Nellore district mentioning Eṟṟasiddharāsa belong to the time of Rājarāja III Chōḷa is, on chronological grounds, untenable[5]. The career of Eṟṟasiddha remains obscure. His relations with the Yādavarāyas were intimate[6]. There is some indication in a later record that Eṟṟasiddha must have done so much for the consolidation of the Nellore Kingdom that it was called after him[7].

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[1] *The Early History of Deccan*, pp. 593 and 594.

[2] *ibid.*, p 617.

[3] *S. I. T. I.* Vol. I, No. 394.

[4] 105 of 1922.

[5] *T. L. I. M. P.* Nellore Nos. 210, 211 and 685. Rājarāja of these records must be Rājarāja II Chōḷa. Again Erāma Siddha mentioned in a record of Kulōttuṅga III must be different from this Eṟṟasiddharāsa.

[6] *N. I.* V. 11.

[7] *T. L. I. M P.* Nellore 40.

The Nellore kingdom comprised Cuddapah, Nellore and portions of the Chingleput districts[1]. Rājādhirāja II Chōḷa's preoccupation with the prolonged Pāṇḍya civil war and the decline of the Velanāṇḍu Chōḷa power, which at one time extended upto the Kāḷahasti hills, must have contributed to the speedy rise of the Nellore Telugu Chōḷas. Āṭkoṇḍāṉ Gaṅgaikoṇḍāṉ alias Pottappisōḻaṉ who figures in the reign of Rājādhirāja II Chōḷa was not a Telugu Chōḷa ruler[2].

In the reign of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa we find the sons of Eṟṟasiddha, (1) Manmasiddhi or Manumasiddhi (2) Nallasiddhi (3) Tammusiddhi figuring prominently[3]. The existence in the Cuddapah, Nellore and Chingleput districts of the early inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa, makes it certain that Manumasiddhi started his career as a Chōḷa vassal[4]. But how long he had been so, cannot be acertained from the very limited number of his records. It is certainly untenable to think that in his third year Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa defeated Manumasiddhi and deprived him of the rulership of Nellore and conferred it on his brother Nallasiddhi[5] No. 483 of 1906 dated Śaka 1114 i. e., A. D. 1192 mentioning Nallasiddhaṇadēva's collection of tribute from Kāñchi makes it clear that Kulōttuṅga III

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[1] *vide. The Early History of the Deccan*, p. 603.

[2] *vide.* T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p 142.

[3] In some records as 343 of 1928-29 we find Betta instead of Nallasiddhi. Prof. Sastri's identification of Manumasiddhi with Nallasiddhi (*op. cit.*. p. 388) is untenable. See 582 of 1907; 68 of 1953-54.

[4] we are not certain about Manumasiddhi's date of accession.

[5] *contra. The Early History of the Deccan* Pp. 603 and 604.

Chōḷa's northern campaign resulting in his recapture of Kāñchi must have happened after A. D. 1192.

It seems quite probable that when the Chōḷa emperor was preoccupied with the second compaign against the Pāṇḍyas, some of his Telugu feudatories, invaded the Kāñchi region, occupied that city and collected tribute. That is what we infer from an inscription of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa dated 19th year[1].

The Chōḷa emperor's successful campaign against the Northern kings is identical with his punitive expedition against those hostile feudatories, leading to his reconquest of Kāñchi. Bhujabalavīra Nallasiddhaṇadēva Chōḍa Mahārāja, the ruler of Vallūrapura (Cuddapah dt.) was one such Telugu ruler who claims to have collected tribute from Kāñchi in A. D. 1192[2] defying the emperor[3]. Now the question is whether Manumasiddhi was a rebel vassal or not. We do not possess any evidence on this matter. Still, the fact that from the 19th year of Kulōttuṅga III Nallasiddhi is seen in the place of his elder brother suggests that Manumasiddhi might have lost his rulership on account of some act of hostility or he might have passed away. The latter view is more probable than the former. As to the date of

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. No. 88 and 483 of 1906.

[2] 483 of 1906.

[3] It is difficult to identify this Telugu ruler with Nallasiddhi, the brother of Manumasiddhi for these reasons: (a) The name is slightly different. (b) He does not bear the usual title 'Madurāntaka Pottapi Chōḍa'. (c) He ruled from Vallūrapura whereas Manumasiddhi's brother ruled from Nellore. Also *I. A.* Vol. XXXVIII, p. 10.

Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa's reconquest of Kāñchi, it must have happened sometime between A. D. 1194 and 1197[1].

Nallasiddhi (c. A. D. 1197-c. 1213), the successor of Manumasiddhi at Nellore seems to have pursued an active career as his records are found in a wider area - Nellore, Cuddapah and Chittoor districts. But unfortunately his records, though many, do not throw any light on his political or military activity[2]. The part played by Nallasiddhi in Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa's invasion of the Kākatīya and Vēṅgi kingdoms is not known although the event falls within his rule[3]. Nallasiddhi continued to be a vassal of Kulottuṅga III till at least A. D. 1213 when he made a gift for the merit of his deceased brother Manumasiddhi.

Tammusiddhi, the younger brother of Nallasiddhi II[4], was a co-ruler of Nallasiddhi, probably in charge of the southern part of the Nellore kingdom where many of his records are found. Since Nallasiddhi is known to have remained in power till A. D. 1213, the

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[1] T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 154.

[2] 198 of 1892; 205 of 1894; 570 and 601 of 1907; 97 of 1922; 67 of 1936-37; 317 of 1928-29; 11 of 1955-56; 68 of 1953-54; *T. L. I. M. P.* Nellore No. 539 and 557-all these and others record gifts.

[3] *vide*, *The Early History of the Deccan*, p. 600.

[4] 367 of 1953.54 from Śriraṅgam identifies Tammusiddhi with Nallasiddhi. But this must be a mistake because the Kāvali inscription specifically states that Tammusiddhi was the younger brother of Nallasiddhi *T. L. I. M. P.*, Nellore 441.

reference to Tammusiddhi's coronation in the Kāñchipuram record must be taken to mean only his selection as heir-apparent[1]. Some of the epigraphs of Tammusiddhi are dated in Śaka era and not in the regnal year of the Chōḷa emperor[2]. But this carries no political significance. His brother, Nallasiddhi, also did so although he was a loyal vassal of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa[3]. Apart from the fact that he was a Chōḷa vassal, other details of Tammusiddhi's career are not known.

Another notable Telugu Chōḷa feudatory of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa was Madurāntaka Pottapi Chōḍa Tirukkāḷattidēva alias Gaṇḍagōpāla (c. A. D. 1213 - c. 1258). He is identical with Tikka I[4]. He was the son of Manumasiddhi, the elder brother of Nallasiddhi[5]. Tirukkāḷattidēva or Tikka I was on good terms with his paternal uncle, Nallasiddhi[6] and the Chōḷa emperor. We do not know the circumstances of the Kākatīya intervention in the affairs of the Nellore Chōḷas resulting in Tikka I's supersession of Tammusiddhi[7]. In spite

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[1]*vide*, *A. R. E.* 1928-29, Pt. II paragraph 40; also *The Cōlas*, p. 388.

[2]343 of 1928-29; 367 of 1953-54; *T. L. I. M. P.* Nellore 441, Chittoor 322.

[3]See 11 of 1955-56.

[4]582 of 1907; 97 of 1945-46 - the date of the record is doubtful; *T. L. I. M. P.* Nellore 573 and 655.

[5]582 of 1907.

[6]*ibid*.

[7]*vide*, *The Early History of the Deccan* p. 604. Probably Tikka I helped Kākatīya Gaṇapati in his conquest of the Velanāṇḍu chiefs, *ibid*, p. 603.

of such help from the Kākatīya ruler, Tikka I did not break with Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa[1]. Later, as we shall see, Tikka I moved very closely with Rājaraja III Chōḷa.

Tikka I's brother, Betarāsa, was also a vassal of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa[2]. Similarly, Nallasiddhi's son was also a Chōḷa vassal[3]. The identity of Madurāntaka Pottapi Chōḍa alias Rājagaṇḍagōpālaṉ, another feudatory of Kulōttuṅga III is unknown. It is interesting to note here that the Cuddapah region was known as Adhirājēndra-sōḻamaṇḍalam in the time of Kulōttuṅga III[4].

Rājarāja III Chōḷa had the following Telugu Chōḷa vassals:

1. Madurāntaka Pottapisōḻa Puḍōliarāsaṉ[5]. Since he is described as the ruler of Puḍōli, he must be different from Tikka I, the ruler of Nellore. He was the father-in-law of Sīyagaṅga[6]. Apart from this, we have no information about his political career. Similarly, Madurāntaka Pottapisōḻa Ghaṭṭidēvarāsaṉ, another Telugu Chōḷa vassal, is known through a gift to the temple at Kāḷahasti[7].

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[1] *ibid.* An inscription of Kulōttuṅga III dated 37th year refers to the kingdom of Tirukkāḷattidēva i.e., Tikka I, *N. I.* - R. 66.

[2] 456 of 1919.

[3] *T. L. I. M. P.* - Nellore 229.

[4] 576, 578 and 581 of 1907.

[5] *S. I. I.* Vol IV, No. 317; 88 of 1889.

[6] *ibid.*

[7] 137 of 1922.

That Tikka I continued to be a Chōḷa feudatory is clear from many Tamil epigraphs. They describe him as Madurāntaka Pottapi sōḻa Manumasittarāsaṉ Tirukkāḷattidēvaṉ alias Gaṇḍagōpālaṉ[1]. The terms, Nāyaṉār[2] and Piḷḷaiyār[3], preceding Tikka's name in many records, show his high status as well as his intimacy with the Chōḷa emperor. Still, his role in the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya wars before Kōpperuñjiṅga I's revolt is not known although, as his inscriptions dated in the years of Rājarāja III Chōḷa[4] unmistakably indicate, he continued to be a Chōḷa feudatory during the critical period. Similarly, we do not know if he played any role in the suppression of Kōpperuñjiṅga I's revolt. But one thing is certain i.e., he continued to be a loyal feudatory during and after that event[5]. Incidentally this disproves the view that Tikka I was not in power during the period A. D. 1215-28[6]. It is not known if his war with the Sevunas at Kurumulūr happened during that time. Similarly, the Kākatīya invasion of the Chōḷa territory referred to in Gaṇapēśvaram record of A. D. 1231 remains to be confirmed[7] But one thing is clear i.e.,

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. IV. No. 850.

[2] *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 152; 439 of 1937-38.

[3] 410 of 1923; 514 of 1919.

[4] 319 of 1929; 24 of 1940-41; 534 and 532 of 1912; 367 of 1919 6 of 1893.

[5] 24 of 1940-41; 532 and 534 of 1912; 367 of 1919; 6 of 1893; 357 of 1919, 37 of 1893; 627 of 1929, 562 of 1912; 157 of 1942-43; 621 of 1919; 415 of 1919; 439 of 1937-38-inscriptions of Rājarāja III ranging from the 15th to 23rd year.

[6] *contra*, *The Early History of the Deccan*, p. 604.

[7] *ibid*, p. 605.

Tikka I gained the Kāñchi region in A. D. 1231[1]. Tikka I maintained his friendly relations with the Kākatīya ruler notwithstanding his subordination to the Imperial Chōḷas. Perhaps that was necessary because his interests clashed with those of the Hoysaḷas[2].

It appears that Tikka I feared that the Hoysaḷa Narasiṁha II taking advantage of the weakness of the Chōḷa emperor, Rājarāja III, would establish his sway in the northern part of the Chōḷa empire viz., the Kāñchi region, as he did in the south. One of the inscriptions of the Hoysaḷa refers to him as ruling from Kāñchi in A. D. 1230[3] and another refers to his army there[4]. But somehow Tikka I came into the possession of that territory. The Hoysaḷa must have been bitter about it. That apart, we do not know what precipitated the conflict between Tikka I and the Hoysaḷa at Jambai (S. Arcot dt.) about A. D. 1239. Dr. Derrett says that Tikka I alias Gaṇḍagōpāla marched southwards to explore the defences of Kōpperuñjiṅga II and in the course of it, the battle referred to above happend[5]. That is very probable. We know from the Jambai record that the Vallāḷadēva (i. e., the Hoysaḷa) was stabbed by the Telugu Chōḷa[6]. Scholars differ about the Hoysaḷa stabbed at Jambai. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. Derrett do not think that the Vallāḷadēva stabbed at Jambai was the Hoysaḷa Narasiṁha II. On the other hand Dr. N. Venkata-

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[1] 446 of 1919.

[2] *The Early History of the Deccan*, p. 605.

[3] *E. C.* Vol. XII, Tp. 42.

[4] *E. C.* Vol. V Cn. 211 b.

[5] *op. cit.*, p. 122.

[6] 439 of 1937-38.

ramanayya and Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma hold that Tikkka I killed Narasiṁha II[1]. The former view is probable. It is interesting to note that the record mentioning the event is dated in the 23rd year of Rājarāja III Chōḷa. So, Tikka I must have been a Chōḷa vassal at that time. We do not know why the Chōḷa emperor kept quiet while his allies, the Hoysaḷas, clashed with his vassal. Probably the emperor did not want to antagonize either or he might have treated the Telugu Chōḷa power as a counterpoise to both the Kāḍava and Hoysaḷa rulers. Whatever it may be, there is no doubt that Tikka I was of great help to the Chōḷa emperor, and acknowledged his overlordship for some more time. This is clear from the statement of Tikkana Sōmayāji, the Telugu poet, that Tikka I earned the title of 'Chōḷasthāpanāchārya' by defeating Somēśvara and by establishing the Chōḷa emperor in his position[2].

The reign of Rājēndra III Chōḷa saw further glory of Tikka I's career. It is highly probable that Tikka I's campaign against the Śambuvarāyas was connected with Rājēndra III Chōḷa's war with them[3]. Further, Tikka I seems to have assisted Rājēndra III in his war with the Pāṇḍyas. Ketana's reference to Tikka I's levy of tribute from the Pāṇḍyas could not be accounted for in any other way[4]. Probably because of such help the Chōḷa emperor must have left Tikka I free to lord over the Kañchi region. No record of Rājarāja III

[1] *The Early History of the Deccan*, p. 605.

[2] *The Cōḷas*, pp. 434 and 443.

[3] *ibid*, pp. 435 and 443; *A. R. E.* 1920, Pt. II, p. 117.

[4] *The Cōlas*, p. 443 Fn. 82; *A. R. E.* 1920, Pt. II, p. 117; No. 621 of 1919 seems to confirm the view.

or Rājēndra III dater afted A. D. 1245 is found at Kāñchi. Further, that part of the empire was exposed to the military pressure of not only the Hoysaḷas but also of the Kākatīyas. In view of the danger from the Pāṇḍyas, Rājēndra III Chōḷa seems to have concentrated his attention on the central part of the empire leaving northern Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam to Tikka I. The rising tide of Pāṇḍya imperialism left him with no other alternatives. Thus, for all practical purpose the kingdom of Tikka I was independent of imperial control. Unlike Kōpperuñjiṅga I and Kōpperuñjiṅga II, Tikka I was slow in asserting his new status. The astronomical details of his records show that from A. D. 1251 he began issuing records in his own name[1]. We do not know whether in the intervening period he was subject to Kākatīya control as a Kākatiya record of A. D. 1249 at Kāñchi suggests[2]. But the record may be taken to indicate the friendship between the two powers. The success so far achieved by Tikka I was due not only to his wisdom, ability and tact but also to his long friendship with the Kākatīyas and the Yādavarāyas. Tikka I had married two Yādavarāya princesses.

Tikka I seems to have ruled till about A. D. 1258 as one of his records bearing 7th year is found at Kāḷahasti[3]. Identifying Tikka I with Vīragaṇḍagōpāla Prof. Nilakanta Sastri says that Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya killed Tikka I, took Kāñchi, defeated Kākatīya Gaṇapati, occupied Nellore and performed Vīrābhishēka there[4]. On the other hand Mr. T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar identifies

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[1] *A. R. E.* 1920, Appx. F. p. 92.
[2] *The Cōḷas*, p. 443, Fn. 83 b.
[3] *T. L. I. M. P.*, Chittoor, No. 140; *contra*, *The Early History of the Deccan*, p. 609.
[4] *The Cōḷas*, pp. 436 and 437; *S. I. I.* Vol. IV, No. 433.

the Gaṇḍagōpāla mentioned in Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya's inscription with Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla probably on the ground that the latter began his reign in Kāñchi in A. D. 1250[1]. Another view is that Vīragaṇḍagōpāla was different from Tikka I and Vijayagaṇḍa gōpāla[2]. As regards Prof. Sastri's view, it is improbable because nowhere in the records of Tikka I is the name, Vīragaṇḍagōpāla mentioned; nor is the name of Tikka I or his *biruda* mentioned in any records of Vīragaṇḍagōpāla. Regarding the second view, it is untenable for Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla who began ruling in A. D. 1250 survived in power for more than three decades. The third view is most probable. It is significant that Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya's record does not refer to Tikka I or Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla; the sanskrit introduction no doubt mentions Vīragaṇḍagōpāla but the Tamil portion of the inscription merely states Gaṇḍagōpāla[3]. Further. Kōpperuñjiṅga II's Tirupati inscription[4] mentioning his conquest of Vīra and Vijaya shows the existence of two different rulers Vīra being identical with Vīragaṇḍagōpāla. There is no possibility of Vīragaṇḍagōpāla being identical with Tikka I's son Manumasiddhi II[5]. So, Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya took Kāñchi from Vīragaṇḍagōpāla and not from Tikka I. But a later conflict between that Pāṇḍya and Tikka I or his son cannot be ruled out because of the Pāṇḍya occupation of the Nellore territory. The theory of Rājēndra III

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[1] *Pāṇḍyar Varalāṟu*, p. 131.

[2] Dr. Yasodadevi, J. *A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 4 and 5.

[3] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri - *Pāṇḍyaṉ kingdom* (New Edition) pp. 148 and 149 Fn.

[4] *T. D. Inss.* Vol. I, p. 17.

[5] *contra*, *The Early History of the Deccan*, p. 612.

Chōḷa's defeat at the hands of Manumasiddhi II (Tikka I's son) at Paḷaiyāṟu in A. D. 1250 in the Tanjore district is highly improbable[1]. In fact, we find Manumasiddhi II acknowledging the formal suzerainty of Rājēndra III Chōḷa up to his 15th year[2]. Further, after the 15th year of Rājēndra III the invasion of the Chōḷa terrtiory referred to above could not have taken place in view of Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya's occupation of the entire Karnatak up to Nellore.

As regards Vīragaṇḍagōpāla and Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla a word is necessary because they ruled over the northern part of the Chōḷa empire with their headquarters at Kāñchi, and had intimate contact with other Chōḷa feudatories like the Śambuvarāyas and Kāḍavarāyas. As some of their records call them Madurāntaka Pottapisōḷas[3] and as they bore the typically Telugu Chōḷa name of Gaṇḍagōpāla we may regard them as Telugu Chōḷa rulers[4]. On account of their rule in what was once the Pallava terrtiory, sometimes they called themselves Pallavas. The Kāḍavas and the Śambuvarāyas also did so.

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[1] *The Cōḷas*, P. 443, Fn. 83c; *contra*, *The Early History of the Deccan*, p. 610. Kulōttuṅga Rājēndra Chōḍa mentioned in Tikkana's work in this connection must be a Telugu Chōḷa ruler, probably a Velanāṇḍu prince and not the Chōḷa emperor. Similarly Prāyēṟu must be looked for in the Telugu territory and cannot be identified with Paḷaiyāṟu, an old capital of the Chōḷas in the Tanjore district.

[2] *T. L. I. M. P.* - Nellore 190 C and 190 A; 580 of 1907.

[3] 662, 672 and 699 of 1904; 222 and 233 of 1910; *A. R. E.* 1911, Pt. II, Paragraph 16; 197 or 1916; 375 of 1928-29; *A. R. E.* 1920, Pt. II, p. 118.

[4] *contra*, *T. D. Inss.* Vol. I, Intro. p. 79.

There were at least two Vīragaṇḍagōpālas and two Vijayagaṇḍagōpālas[1] The earlier Vīragaṇḍagōpāla and Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla seem to be cousins of Tikka I, ruling from Kāñchi in subjection to that ruler of Nellore. There is no other way of explaining the presence in Kāñchi of the inscriptions of all these rulers. The absence of any reference to Tikka I in the records of Vīragaṇḍagōpāla and of Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla need not negative our view because that practice was the privilege of a closely related or powerful vassal. On the defeat and death of Vīragaṇḍagōpāla at the hands of Jaṭāvarmaṇ Sundara I Pāṇḍya, his brother, Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla, must have made peace with the victorious Pāṇḍya. Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla's undisturbed possession of Kāñchi till A. D. 1285 and the rapid growth of his power in the neighbouring territory could not be accounted for in any other manner.

It is thus clear that even before Jaṭāvaramaṇ Sundara I Pāṇḍya's *digvijaya*, Rājēndra III, the last Chōḷa emperor, lost his hold on the northern part of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam although he enjoyed, to a great extent, the sympathy and support of the Telugu Chōḷa rulers of that region.

Administration :

Not much is known about the administration of the Telugu Chōḍas of Pottapi, Velanāṇḍu and Nellore. They had their own

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[1]The later Vīragaṇḍagōpāla was the son of the earlier Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla - 197 of 1916. The later Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla was a Pāṇḍya vassal figuring in a record of A. D. 1296 and probably later also - *T. L. I. M. P.* - Nellore Nos. 543 and 534; 662 of 1902; 260 and 263 of 1917.

ministers[1], *samantas*[2] and generals[3]. Their territory was divided into *maṇḍalam*, *Vaḷanāḍu* or *nāḍu* (*nāṇḍu*)[4]. The ruler himself is known to have disposed of cases about the ownership of real property apart from inheritance[5]. Three types of gold coins seem to have been issued by them. The first, *Bhujabalaṉmāḍai*[6] appears to be the earliest type; *Gaṇḍagōpālaṉmāḍai* was the second type issued most probably by the predecessors of Tikka I[7]. The third, *Gaṇḍagōpalaṉ-puḍumāḍai* was issued by Tikka I[8].

Contribution to Religion and Learning :-

Śaivism :-

The Telugu Chōḷas, like other feudatories, followed a liberal religious policy of supporting all sects. As regards their services to Śaivism we have the evidence of a large number of epigraphs. But most of them record only gifts of money, cows and lands to Śiva

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[1] *S. I. T. I.* Vol. I, No. 394; 194 of 1897; 363 of 1919; *A. R. E* 1922, paragraph 59; *N. I.* - R. No 8; J. *A. H. R S* Vol. V, pp. 68 and 69.

[2] 367 of 1919.

[3] 163 and 175 of 1897.

[4] 576 and 581 of 1907; 174 of 1897; *T. L. I. M. P.* – Nellore No. 573.

[5] *A. R. E.* 1908, Pt. II, paragraph 73.

[6] 311 of 1928-29.

[7] 361 of 1928 - 29; *contra*, *A. R. E.* 1920, Pt. II, p. 57.

[8] 351 of 1923.

temples. To catalogue them all is unnecessary for understanding their religious policy. We shall note here such of those records which give us information about their personal benefactions. Pottapisōḻar Sattiyaraiyar, a Pottapi prince, made gifts to the Śiva temples of Tiruveṇkādu (Tanjore dt.) and Vriddhāchalam (S. Arcot dt.) in the time of Rājarāja I Chōḷa[1]. Gaṅgaikoṇḍāṉ Rājarājadēva, another Pottapi prince, probably in imperial service made a gift to the temple at Vēdāraṇyam (Tanjore dt.) in the time of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa[2]. Vimalāditya, a Pottapi ruler, made a gift to the temple at Kāḷahasti[3] in the time of Vikrama Chōḷa. His son, Sōmīśvara, built a *gōpura* of the Saumyanāthaśvāmi temple at Nandalūr, Cuddapah dt[4]. Rājēndra I Chōḍa, son of Goṅka I, and his son Goṅka II of Velanāṇḍu made many gifts to the temple of Kāḷahasti in the time Vikrama Chōḷa[5]. The Goṅkēśvara temple at Chērakumpaḷḷi or Ikshupaḷḷi (undentified) was probably built in memory of Goṅka I the Velanāṇḍu Chōḷa[6] An inscription from Dāmalūr, Krishna dt., dated Saka 1054 (i.e., A. D. 1132) mentions Goṅkēśvara temple at Dāmalūr[7]. This must be different from the one mentioned above. The Piṭhāpuram inscription of Pṛithvīśvara mentions the benefactions of Goṅka II to the Bhīmānātha temple there[8]. Vimaladēvaṉ, another Pottapi

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[1]*S. I. I.* Vol. XIII, No. 16; 49 of 1918.
[2]415 of 1904.
[3]100 of 1922.
[4]611 of 1907.
[5]103 and 112 and 123 of 1922.
[6]163 of 1897.
[7]*T. L. I. M. P.* Krishna 92 k.
[8]*E. I.* Vol. IV, No. 4.

feudatory of Rājarāja II, made a gift to the temple at Kāḷahasti [1]. The epigraphs of Velanāṇḍu Kulōttuṅga Rājēndra II, son of Goṅka II, record his various gifts to the Bhīmēśvara temple at Drākshārāma [2], to the Visvēśra temple on the southern bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā [3] and to the Śaṅkaraśvāmi temple at Koniḍena, Guntur dt [4].

The temple of Manumasiddhīśvara at Tellore alias Vikramasiṅgapura was built probably by Manumasiddhi, the elder brother of Nallasiddhi. Since the temple is referred to in a record of Kulottuṅga III dated 9th year (A. D. 1187), it must have been constructed some time before it. Nallasiddhi and his consort Nuṅgamādēvi made several gifts to the Śiva temples of Kāḷahasti [5] Nandalūr [6], Tiruppālaivaṉam [7] Saṅgam [8] and Nellore [9]. Tammusiddhi's inscriptions mention his gifts to the Śiva temples of Tiruppālaivaṉam, [10] Tiruvālaṅgāḍu [11] and Tiruvoṟṟiyūr [12]. Tikka I or Tirukkāḷattlideva Gaṇḍagōpāla made similar gifts to the temples of Tandalūr (Cuddapah dt.) [13] and Vendōḍu

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[1] 104 of 1922

[2] 217 and 218 of 1893.

[3] 164 of 1897.

[4] 181 of 1899.

[5] 198 of 1892; 97 of 1922.

[6] 570, 601 of 1907.

[7] 317 of 1928-29.

[8] 11 of 1955-56.

[9] *T. L. I. M. P.* Nellore No. 557.

[10] 343 of 1928-29.

[11] 408 of 1896.

[12] 104 of 1892.

[13] 582 of 1907.

(Nellore dt.)[1] and Kāḷahasti[2]. Madurāntaka Pottapisōḻa Puḍōliarāsaṉ whose identity is not known built a *maṇḍapa* in the Sōmanāthēśvara temple at Mēlpāḍi, Chittoor dt., in A.D. 1224[3]. In 1230 Edirigaḷnāyaṉ, a Pottapi Chōḻa subordinate of Kōpperuñjiṅga I, made a gift to the temple at Vriddhāchalam, S. Arcot Dt[4]. This Telugu Chōḻa must be different from Tikka I. In 1245 a son of Tikka I made a gift to the Śiva temple at Niḍigallu, Tellore dt.[5]. The Gaṇḍagōpālamāṇicka *maṭha* at Tiruppālaivaṉam, Chingleput dt., was in all probability founded by Tirukkāḷattidēva Gaṇḍagōpāla i.e., Tikka I[6].

Vaishṇuvism :

As regards the patronage of Vaishṇavism by these Telugu Chōḍa rulers we have a good number of records. Guṇḍāmbika, the mother of Goṅka II and queen of Rājēndra I Chōḍa of Velanāṇḍu, made a gift to the Bhāvanārayaṇa temple at Prempaḷḷi in A. D. 1136[7]. Eight years later, another Velanāṇḍu queen, Sōmāṇḍiamma, made a gift to the same temple[8]. It is possible that Madurāntaka Siddharasa, a Pottapi vassal of Kulōttuṅga II Chōḻa, built the Vishṇu temple called Sri Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Viṇṇagar Āḻvār as well as the Brāhmin settlement Sri Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Chaturvēdimaṅgalam at Nandalūr, Cuddapah dt.[9].

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[1] 97 of 1945-46.
[2] 201 of 1903.
[3] *S. I. I.* Vol. IV, No. 317
[4] 136 of 1900.
[5] 83 of 1953-54.
[6] 330 of 1928-29.
[7] 182 of 1897.
[8] 174 of 1897.
[9] 572 of 1907.

In 1192 Madurāntaka Pottapi Rājagaṇḍagōpāla alias Raṅganāthaṉ[1], a vassal of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa made a gift of land to the temple of Gōpālaperumāḷ at Nellore[2]. Seven years later the queen of Nallasiddhi II made a gift to the Vishṇu temple of Srīraṅgam[3]. In 1204 Tammusiddhi granted a village to the Vishṇu temple at Tiruppāṟkaḍal i.e., Nellore[4]. Next year Nallasiddhi II made a similar gift to the temple at Tirupati[5].

In A. D. 1209 Tirukkāḷattidēva or Tikka I gave to the temple of Manumakēśavaperumāḷ at Manumakēśavapura, a suburb of Nellore, a village free of tax[6]. In Śaka 1153 (A. D. 1231) he made provision for conducting festivals, the service called Gaṇḍagōpālaṉ Sandhi and repairs in the Varadharājaperumāḷ temple at Kāñchi[7]. Two years later he made a gift of land to the Aruḷāḷapperumāḷ temple at Kāñchi[8]. Later he made two gifts to the same temple for daily service as well as for Gaṇḍagōpāḷaṉ Sandhi[9]. The same ruler gave

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[1]not to be confused with the later chief of the same name, *vide:* *T. L. I. M. P* Nellore 543.

[2]*T. L. I. M. P.*, Nellore 201.

[3]67 of 1936-37.

[4]*T. L. I. M. P.* Nellore 544.

[5]*ibid*, No. 184.

[6]*T. L. I. M. P.* Nellore, No. 573.

[7]446 of 1919.

[8]395 of 1919.

[9]*S. I. T. I.* Vol. I, No. 404; 357 of 1919. Also *S.I.I.* Vol. IV, Nos. 850 and 859.

away two villages to the same temple for maintaining the female servants who sang in the presence of god[1]. Another epigraph of the same ruler from Kāñchi records in A. D. 1237 the gift of a village for Gaṇḍagōpālaṉ Sandhi at the shrine of Aḻagar in Tirumāliruñjōlai in Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam[2]. Next year the same ruler granted a village to the temple of Gaṇḍagōpāla Viṇṇagar perumāḷ in Kandaravīrapaṭṭi[3] Probably the temple was constructed by Tirukkāḷattidēva alias Gaṇḍagōpāla. It is not possible to identify the village. In A. D. 1246 the same Telugu ruler records his construction of the temple of Dānava Murāri Perumānandadēva at Srī Ātukūru (Atmakur, Nellore dt.) for the religious merit of his father-in-law Tirukāḷadēva Mahārāja[4]. Tirukāḷadēva of this inscription was the same as Tirukkāḷattidēva Yādavarāya. The records noted above show that Tikka I was an ardent patron of Vaishṇavism.

Learning :

The epigraphs of the Telugu Chōḷa rulers of Velanāṇḍu, Pottapi and Nellore do not give us any significant information about their patronage of learning. Still some of their records give us the impression that generally they must have supported learned men[5]. An epigraph of Madurāntaka Pottapisōḷa Puḍōliarāsaṉ from Mēlpādi, Chittoor dt., containing a Tamil verse[6] shows his encouragement of

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[1] 627 of 1929.

[2] 621 of 1919.

[3] 415 of 1919.

[4] *N. I.* Atmakur 7.

[5] *The Early History of the Deccan*, p. 691.

[6] *S. I. I.* Vol. IV, No. 317.

Tamil learning. The Piṭhāpuram inscription of Pṛithvīśvara[1] states that Vīrarājēndra Chōḍa, son of Goṅka II, patronised scholars. Mantri Bhāskara, the grandfather of Tikkana Sōmayāji, is said to have composed a poem on the Rāmāyaṇa. It is no longer extant[2]. It is not known if he was patronised by the rulers of Nellore. Tikkana Sōmayāji who wrote the *Nirvasanōttara Rāmāyaṇamu* and who completed the Andhra *Mahābhārata* was patronised by Manumasiddhi II, the son and successor of Tikka I. The latter work is his masterpiece. 'His descriptions of battles and battle scenes are unrivalled in the whole range of Telugu literature for their liveliness and grandeur......... He makes use of the various figures of speech with conspicuous ability........... His similes are specially noteworthy; they resemble those of Homer and Milton'[3]. Tikkana was also a noted Sanskrit Scholar. Further he also wrote a Kavya called the *Vijayasēnam*. It is not extant. Moreover a work on prosody, the *Kavi-vāgbandhanam* is also attributed to Tikkana[4].

To conclude, the contact between the Telugu Chōḷas and the Imperial Chōḷas began in the time of Rājarāja I Chōḷa. But, we do not hear of them in the time of his immediate successors. Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa was assisted by the rulers of Pottapi and Velanāṇḍu in administering the outlying province of Vēṅgi notwithstanding their

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[1] *E. I.* Vol. IV, No. 4.

[2] *The Early History of the Deccan*, p. 692.

[3] *ibid*, p. 697.

[4] *ibid*, pp. 698 and 699.

unsteady attitude. There is clear evidence that in the time of Vikrama Chōḷa, the Pottapi rulers, with some exception, co-operated with him in reconquering the Vēṅgimaṇḍala from W. Chāḷukya Vikramāḍitya VI. Goṅka II of Velanāṇḍu seems to have stood by the Chōḷa emperor Kulōttuṅga II in withstanding the military pressure of the declining W. Chāḷukyas. The Nellore branch of the Telugu Chōḷas had attained a position of power even in the time of that emperor. There was enmity between the Nellore and Pottapi Chōḷas even at that early period. The decline of the W. Chāḷukyas and the preoccupation of Rājādhirāja II with the Pāṇḍya civil war and the Ceylonese invasion brought about the independence of the Velanāṇḍu chiefs. The Kākatīya power had not then grown strong enough to absorb the Velanāṇḍu chieftaincy. Nallasiddhi I and his successors continued their allegiance to the Imperial Chōḷas. When Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa was busy dealing with the hostile Pāṇḍyas, the Telugu Chōḷa ruler of Vallūrupura attacked Kāñchi. But the Chōḷa emperor put him down and recovered the Kāñchi region. Even in the time of that Chōḷa emperor, the Kākatīyas intervened in the affairs of the Chōḍas of Nellore and brought about the supersession of Tammusiddhi by Tikka I alias Gaṇḍagōpāla.

Tikka I was the greatest Telugu Chōḍa vassal of Rājarāja III Chōḷa. Still, we know nothing about the part played by him in the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya wars and in the suppression of the Kāḍava revolt. It is very probable that Tikka I helped the emperor against his recalcitrant feudatories like the Śambuvarāyas as well as against the Pāṇḍyas and the Hoysaḷas. At the same time his intimacy with the Kākatīyas grew much resulting in his gradual independence. After some time, we find him issuing records in his own name. In fact,

after A. D. 1245 no record of the Imperial Chōḷas is found in Kāñchi. Vīragaṇḍagōpāla I and Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla I ruled the southern part of the Nellore kingdom in subjection to Tikka I. The expansion of the Pāṇḍya empire under Jaṭāvarmaṇ Sundara I Pāṇḍya put an end to the independence of the rulers of Nellore, and Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla fell in line with other minor rulers in acknowledging the Pāṇḍya overlordship. But Tikka I's son Manumasiddhi II seems to have retained his hold on the Cuddapah region. Even before his death in A. D. 1279 the last Chōḷa emperor, Rājēndra III, had the misfortune of seeing the establishment of the Pāṇḍya hegemony in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. But it must be remembered that much in advance of that, the Chōḷa hold on Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam had all gone but in name. The Telugu Chōḷa service to religion and learning was characteristic of other Chōḷa feudatories.

CHAPTER-XII

THE MUTTARAIYARS AND OTHERS

In this Chapter we shall deal with the Muttaraiyars, the Western Gaṅgas, Muṇaiyadaraiyars, Gaṅgaraiyars, Vaidumbas, Adigamāns, Noḷambas and Nishadarāyas These dynasties did not play so important a part as the others noted above in imperial affairs. Still, they deserve our attention in a survey of this kind. Their history, too, is characterised by paucity of information.

1. *The Muttaraiyars :*

The Muttaraiyars were an ancient feudatory dynasty, and had been subordinate to the Pallavas[1]. The eclipse of their power was

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[1]For their origin and early history, see, M. S. Govindasamy, *op.cit.*, Chap. II, pp. 38-70.

brought about by the rise of the Imperial Chōḷas under Vijayālaya, the first Later Chōḷa ruler.

Tanjore, the early capital of the Later Chōḷas, was held by the Muttaraiyars before its conquest by Vijayālaya. Apart from his valour, Vijayālaya's intimate relations with the Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs must have brought about the Muttaraiya subordination to the Chōḷas. An epigraph from Kuḍumiyāmalai ascribable to Āditya I Chōḷa confirms this, besides showing the close relations between the Muttaraiyars and the Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs[1]. A certain Perumpiḍugu Muttaraiyaṉ was a vassal of Āditya I Chōla[2]. No other information about his relations with the Choḷas is available.

An epigraph of Parāntaka I Chōḷa from the Chittoor district mentions his Muttaraiya feudatory by name Parakēsari Muttaraiyaṉ[3]. We are not certain if he is the same as Karuvili Muttaraiyaṉ, also of the same period[4]. The next known Muttaraiya chief is Aravaṉaiyāṉ Pallava Muttaraiyaṉ, an official of Sundara Chōḷa[5]. Uttama Chōḷa who succeeded Sundara Chōla, had a Muttaraiya vassal by name Araiyaṉ Mahimālayaṉ alias Parāntaka Muttaraiyaṉ[6]. He must be different from Sēkkiḻāṉ Araiyaṉ Saṅkaranārayaṇaṉ alias Sōḻamuttaraiyaṉ[7]. The

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. XIII, No. 288.

[2] *ibid*.

[3] 439 of 1905.

[4] 476 of 1925.

[5] *E. I.* Vol. XV. No. 5.

[6] *S. I. I.* Vol. XIX, No. 61; 602 of 1920.

[7] *S I I.* Vol. XIX, No. 831; 157 and 158 of 1928-29; *S.I.I.* Vol. XIII, No. 146; 585 of 1920.

latter does not appear to be a Muttaraiya although he bears a Muttaraiya name or title. Probably it was conferred on him for some meritorious act.

In the time of Rājarāja I Chōḷa we hear again of a Muttaraiya chief by name Araṅgaṉ Kāri aliās Sōḻavichchādira Muttaraiyaṉ who participated in the Ceylonese campaign of the emperor[1]. Similarly, Rājamalla Muttaraiyaṉ alias Srutimāṉ Nakkaṉ Chandiraṉ, another Muttaraiya chief took part in Rājēndra I Chōḷas campaign against W. Chāḷukya Satyāśraya[2]. The Muttaraiya chief was ordered by the king to pierce Satyāśraya's elephant, and in the attempt the Muttaraiya was killed[3].

Again we hear of a Muttaraiya chief by name Āykkoḻundu Arikaṇḍaṉ alias Rajaraja Muttaraiyaṉ, an official under Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa[4]. Probably he is identical with Vaṅgāra Muttaraiyaṉ, mentioned in a record of the same emperor dated 42nd year[5]. The next known Muttaraiya chief is Sēndaṉ Kūttāḍuvāṉ alias Rājarāja Vaṅgāra Muttaraiyaṉ (c. A. D. 1160-c. 1168), a subordinate of Rājarāja II Chōḷa[6]. He was in charge of the Tiṭṭagaḍi area in the

[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. V, No. 1411.

[2] 515 of 1912.

[3] *ibid*.

[4] 118 of 1928-29.

[5] 9 of 1903.

[6] 16 of 1903; 28 of 1908.

South Arcot district[1]. The same Muttariya chief figures in an epigraph of Rājādhirāja II dated 5th year[2].

In the reign of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa we find more than one Muttaraiya vassal. Kaḍandai Ādityaṉ Maṇḍali alias Vaṅgāra Muttaraiyaṉ figures early in the reign of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa[3]. Probably he was the successor of Sēndaṉ Kūttāḍuvāṉ alias Rājarāja Vaṅgāra Muttaraiyaṉ. Since he is described as a *maṇḍali*, his jurisdiction must have been wider than that of his predecessor. His son was Baligaṉ alias Rājarāja Vaṅgāra Muttaraiyaṉ[4]. He was very prominent in the earlier period of Kulottuṅga III[5]. Still, we have no information about his service to the empire. An incomplete epigraph of the same emperor dated 17th year mentions a certain Muttaraiyar[6], but his identity is not known. Yet another Muttaraiya vassal of Kulōttuṅga III was Tirunaṭṭamāḍi alias Vijayālaya Muttaraiyaṉ[7]. He was also known as Tillai Tirunaṭṭapperumāḷ[8]. He must have been an important subordinate of the emperor. Still we know only his benefactions to temples and nothing else.

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1 *ibid*.

2 26 of 1903; *A. R. E.* wrongly describes the king as Rājarāja.

3 *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, Nos 295, 297 and 298; 24A, 25 and 26 of 1903.

4 11 of 1903.

5 11, 17 and 18 of 1903; 210 of 1928-29.

6 *S. I. I.* Vol III, No. 118; 307 of 1906.

7 *S. I. T. I*, Vol. II, Nos. 628, 629 and 1047; 670 of 1909.

8 679 of 1909.

Vīrarājēndra Brahmādarāya Muttaraiyaṉ and Vikramasōḻa Brahmādara Muttaraiyaṉ mentioned in an epigraph of Kulottuṅga III dated 7th year[1] were not Muttaraiya chiefs because the word Brahmādarāya meant only chiefs of Brāhmin caste and the Muttaraiyars did not belong to that caste. Similar chiefs are also mentioned in the records of Rājarāja III Chōḷa[2].

Religion:

The Muttaraiyars seem to have been ardent followers of Śaivism and their inscriptions record gifts to the Śiva temples of Kuḍumiyāmalai[3], Tiruttaṇi, Uḍaiyārkuḍi, Tiruviḍaimarudūr, Tiruttavatturai and Tiṭṭaguḍi. Karuvili Muttaraiyaṉ built the *ardhamaṇḍapa* of the Nāganāthēśvara temple at Paḷḷikoṇḍa, N. Arcot district[4]. Baligaṉ alias Rājarāja Vaṅgāra Muttaraiyaṉ, son of Āditaṉ Maṇḍali installed the idol of Vichchēśvara in the Śiva temple at Tiṭṭaguḍi in the south Arcot district[5]. Vijayālaya Muttaraiyaṉ alias Tirumaṭṭamāḍi also known as Tillai Tirunaṭṭapperumāḷ, a contemporary of Kulōttuṅga III, erected the temple of Kulōttuṅgasōḻīśvaramuḍaiya Nāyaṉār at Būdalūr and set up the idol of goddess in the Śiva temple at Tiruppaḻanam[6]. In the time of

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[1]20 of 1937-38.

[2]493, 495 496, 499, 500 and 501 of 1912.

[3]*S. I. I.* Vol. XIII, No. 288; 439 of 1905; *S. I. I.* Vol. XIX No. 61; 602 of 1920; *S. I. I* Vol. V. No. 715; 118 of 1928-29; *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 285, 280 295, 297 and 298.

[4]476 of 1925.

[5]*S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, Nos. 287 and 288

[6]Both in the Tanjore district. *S. I. T. I.* Vol. II No. 628 629 and 1047.

Rājarāja III, his son set up a *liṅga* for the merit of his father in the Siva temple at Tiruneḍuṅgaḷam[1]. Of Muttaraiya support to Vaishṇavism we have but one record. An epigraph from Tirumālpuram (N. Arcot dt.) of Kulōttuṅga III mentions a certain Muttaraiyaṉ as one of the donors to the local Vishṇu temple[2].

2. *The Western Gaṅgas*:

There is clear evidence that some Western Gaṅga rulers belonging to the collateral line of Pṛithivīpati I were feudatory to the Later Chōḷas. Those Gaṅga were different from the Gaṅgaraiyars who ruled over a small portion of the North Arcot district called Paṅgaḷanāḍu. We shall first see the Western Gaṅga vassals.

After the death of Pṛithivīpati I in the battle of Srīpuṟambiyam his son Mārasimha II (c.A.D. 880-c.895) came to power. He seems to have assisted Āditya I Chōḷa in his conquest of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam[3]. His son, Prithivīpati II, also was feudatory to Āditya I Chōḷa as the Takkōlam inscription of the latter dated 24th year shows[4].

In the time of Parāntaka I Chōḷa, Pṛithivīpati II assisted his imperial master in many campaigns. According to Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, Prithivīpati II helped Parāntaka I in his war with Rāshṭrakūta Krishṇa II sometime about A. D. 910-11 at the battle of Valāla i.e.

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[1]679 of 1909.

[2]*S. I. I.* Vol. III No. 118.

[3]K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 114.

[4]*E. I.* Vol. XIX, No. 12, p. 88; 5 of 1897.

Tiruvallam[1]. As noted above in connection with the Banas, the battle of Vallāla must be different from that of Rāshṭrakūṭa Krishṇa II. But the Probability of Prithivīpati II assistance to the Chōḷa emperor against the Rāshṭrakūṭa cannot be ruled out.

As regards Pṛithivīpati II's assistance to Parāntaka I in his subjugation of the Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas, the Udayēndiram Plates[2]. and the Shōliṅgūr records[3] give us some information. Pṛithivīpati II's defeat of two Bāṇa rulers and one Vaidumba contributed so much to the Chōḷa victory at Tiruvallam that the title of Bāṇādhirāja was conferred on him by the emperor. According to the Udayēndiram plates, issued in the 15th year of Parāntaka I, Pṛithivīpati II gained the Bāṇa territory as well as the additional title of Sembiyaṉ Mahābali Bāṇarāsa. As to Pṛithivīpati II's conquest of the Vaidumbas, it seems to be a part of the campaign against the Bāṇas.

Pṛithivīpati II was also known as Hastimalla and Vīrasōḻa, the latter being one of the titles of Parāntaka I. He continued to be a Chōḷa vassal till about A. D. 940 and his son predeceased him[4]. The view that Pṛithivīpati II was a feudatory of Rāshṭrakūṭa Krishṇa III[5], is based on the wrong identification of Attimallar alias Kaṉṉaradēva Pṛithivīgaṅgaraiyar, a chief of Paṅgaḷanādu, with Pṛithivīpati II. After Pṛithivīpati II, we do not hear of any W. Gaṅga ruler for a long time.

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[1] *op. cit.*, p. 126.
[2] *S. I. I.* Vol. II, No. 76.
[3] *E. I.* Vol. IV pp. 221 to 225,
[4] *The Cōḷas*, p. 128; 332 of 1912.
[5] *T. L. I. M. P.* North Arcot No. 586.

Again in the reign of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa we find a W. Gaṅga ruler by name Gaṅgakulōṟbhavaṉ Sīyagaṅgaṉ[1]. As the record mentioning his gift is dated in the regnal year of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa, he must have been a Chōḷa vassal. He had his own *tantramudali* (commander). Apart from these we have no information about him.

The next known W. Gaṅga ruler who was feudatory to the Chōḷas, was Sūraṅāyakaṉ Tiruvēgambamuḍaiyāṉ alias Amarābharaṇa Sīyagaṅgaṉ also known as Lord of Kuvaḷālapurā and Gaṅgakulōttama[2]. He was a vassal of both Kulōttuṅga III and Rājarāja III. He must be different from the Sīyagaṅga who was a vassal of Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla[3] and who had the title of Kāvērivallabha. It seems that many members of this dynasty bore the name of Sīyagaṅga. Further, a few Gaṅgaraiyars of Paṅgaḷanāḍu also bore the name[4]. Since this W. Gaṅga ruler continued to be a Chōḷa feudatory till A.D. 1235 and since he is not mentioned as an enemy of the Chōḷa emperor in the Hoysaḷa records, we may conclude that he was loyal to Rājarāja III Chōḷa during the period of Pāṇḍya invasions and Kāḍava revolt. Apart from this, we have no other information about his political career.

His successor must be his name sake Sīyagaṅga, mentioned in the record of Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla[5]. He could not be identified with

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[1]432 of 1928.
[2]93 and 116 of 1922; 303 of 1897; 563 of 1906; 60 of 1907; *S. I. I.* Vol. III, No. 62 and Vol. IV Nos. 643 and 823.
[3]*S. I. I.* Vol. IV, No. 857.
[4]551 of 1906.
[5]*S. I. I.* Vol. IV No. 857.

Siṟaimīṭṭa perumāḷ alias Sīyagaṅga[1]. He seems to have been under the control of Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla, and maintained friendly relations with Kōpperuñjiṅga II[2].

Religion and Learning :–

Inscription of the W.Gaṅgas mention their various benefactions to the Śiva temples of Tiruvallam, Kāḷahasti, Vāḻaikkāḍu, and Kāñchi[3]. Amarābharaṇa Sīyagaṅgaṉ was a noted patron of Tamil learning. He patonised Pavaṇandi, the author of Naṉṉūl, a reputed work on Tamil grammar 'which has displaced all other manuals of Tamil grammar'[4].

3 *The Muṇaiyadaraiyars* :

The Muṉaiyadaraiyars were another ancient line of feudatory chiefs ruling the territory called Tirumuṉaippāḍi with their head-quarters at Tirunāvalūr (modern Tirunāmanallūr) in the South Arcot district. Āditya I Chōḷa's conquest of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam brought these chiefs under Chōḷa rule, and Parāntaka I Chōḷa's records are found in large number at Tirunāmanallūr.

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[1] *contra*, *S. I. I.* Vol. XII, No. 202.

[2] 104 of 1921.

[3] 303 of 1897; 93 and 116 of 1922; *A.R.E* 1928-29, Pt. II p.75; *S. I. I.* Vol. IV, No. 823 and 857.

[4] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 401.

It seems that, for some time, after the Chōḷa defeat at Takkōlam, the Muṇaiyadaraiyars (or Muṇaiyas) remained free without acknowledging the overlordship of either the Chōḷas or the Rāshṭrakūṭas. A certain Muṇaiyadaraiyaṉ Kulamāṇikkaṉ Rāmadēvaṉ issued records dated in Śaka years 875 and 876, without mentioning any overlord[1]. But this state of affairs could not have continued for long, and the presence at Tirunāmanallūr of the records of Rāshṭrakūṭa Krishṇa III makes it certain that the Muṇaiya territory must have been taken by the Rāshṭrakūṭas[2]. When the Rāshtrakūṭa hold on Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam disappeared the Muṇaiyadaraiyars again became Chōḷa vassals. A Parakēsari epigraph ascribable to Uttama Chōḷa dated 3rd year mentions a Muṇaiya chief, Muṇaiyadaraiyar Aparāyitaṉ Kulamāṇikkerumaṉār[3]. He may be the same as Muṇaiyadaraiyaṉ Kulamāṇikkaṉ Rāmadēvaṉ, mentioned above. His career remains obscure.

No information is available about the Muṇiyadaraiya vassals of Rājarāja I Chōḷa. A certain Rājaṉ Rājēndrasōḷaṉ alias Brahmarāyaṉ Muṇaiyadarāyaṉ who built the central shrine of the Kapilēśvara temple at Tirupati seems to have been a contemporary of Rājēndra I Chōḷa[4]. But we are not certain whether he was a Muṇaiya chief or a different one bearing a Muṇaiya title.

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[1]356 and 338 of 1902; *E. I.* Vol. VII, No. 19., Inss. D. and E.

[2]364 and 366 of 1902.

[3]369 of 1902; *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 999.

[4]*T. D. Inss* Vol. I, No. 29 and Intro. p. 29.

In the time of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa we find some Muṉaiya chiefs. A certain Muṉaiyadaraiyar was *Tirumandiravōlai* i.e., royal writer[1]. Similarly Arigaṇḍadēvaṉ Āyarkkoḻundiṉār alias Sēnāpatigaḷ Gaṅgaikoṇḍasōḻa Muṉaiyadaraiyar was a general of the same emperor[2]. Probably the same chief is referred to in an earlier record as Vīrasōḻa Muṉaiyadaraiyar[3]. Another Muṉaiya vassal by name Araiyaṉ Rājēndrasōḻaṉ alias Sēnāpati Rājanārāyaṇa Muṉaiyadaraiyar was also a general of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa[4]. It is not known if the latter chief is identical with the former; probably he is different. No details of the military activity of these chiefs are available.

Vikrama Chōḷa had a Muṉaiya subordinate by name Iḷaṅgōuḍaiyāṉ alias Muṉaiyadaraiyaṉ[5]. But his relationship to the preceding chief is not known; nor do we know anything else except a gift made by him. After this, we hear of the Muṉaiyadaraiyar in the time of Rājarāja II Chōḷa. An epigraph of Śaka 1078 (A. D. 1156) mentions a certain Sēkkiḻāṉ Araiyaṉ Āṭkoṇḍadēvaṉ alias Muṉaiyadaraiyaṉ[6]. He must have been a vassal of Rājarāja II Chōḷa.

The next known Muṉaiya chief is Tiruvaraṅgamuḍaiyāṉ alias Rājādhirāja Malaiyaraiyaṉ, son of Muṉaiyarāyaṉ alias Kulōttuṅgasōḻa

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[1] 5 of 1914.

[2] 122 and 123 of 1938-39.

[3] *S. I. I* Vol. IV. No. 508; 61 of 1892.

[4] 157 and 158 of 1922; 167 of 1951-52; No. 95 Appx c. of 1922.

[5] 194 of 1908.

[6] 136 of 1929-30.

Malaiyarāyaṉ of Perumūrnāḍu in Maṇavilkōṭṭam[1]. That he was a vassal of both Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttuṅga III is clear from some epigraphs[2]. No information is available about his service, political or military, to the Chōḷas.

In the reign of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa besides Tiruvaraṅgamuḍaiyāṉ we find another Muṉaiya chief. He was Araiyaṉ Rājarājadēvaṉ alias Muṉaiyadaraiyaṉ[3]. Probably he was the successor of Tiruvaraṅgamuḍaiyāṉ. Again he was probably the same as Piḷḷai Muṉaiyadaraiyar, an officer, referrd to in a record of Kulōttuṅga III dated 33rd year[4]. No information is available about his career. The last known Muṉaiya subordinate of the Chōḷas is referred to rather casually in an epigraph of Rājēndra III Chōḷa[5] from the Cuddapah district. He must have been an official.

We learn from some undated Pāṇḍya records at Chidambaram, S. Arcot dt., that a battle was fought between a Chōḷa emperor and Jatāvarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya, that the latter triumphed over the Chōḷa and that a certain Muṉaiyaṉ Valliyaṉ Ādittaṉ, chief of Panaiśeyyār[6], fought on behalf of the Pāṇḍya against the Chōḷa[7]. The records are in verse. Interetingly enough they were composed by

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[1] 150 of 1929-30; 114 of 1912; *S. I. T. I.* Vol. I, No. 511.

[2] 145 and 150 of 1929-30; 540 of 1902; 334 of 1928-29.

[3] 2 of 1918.

[4] 57 of 1914.

[5] 420 of 1911.

[6] unidentified

[7] 329 and 332 of 1913; Also K. A. Nilakanta Sastai - *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 156.

Tāynallaperumāḷ Muṉaiyadaraiyaṉ alias Bhuvanēkavīra Toṇḍaimaṉ[1]. The Chōḷa referred to above must be identified with Rājēndra III Chōḷa. We do not know the other details of the battle. But it must be a part of Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya's *digvijaya*. No. 329 of 1913, makes it clear that some Muṉaiya chiefs must have sided with the Pāṇḍyas against the last Chōḷa emperor. Later Pāṇḍya records confirm the view. An epigraph of Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya, the successor of Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya, calls his throne 'Muṉaiyadaraiyaṉ', probably in token of their signal service to the Pāṇḍya throne. Obviously in the last days of the Chōḷa empire the Muṉaiyadaraiyars turned against them and threw in their lot with the Pāṇḍyas.

Religion and Learning :-

From the meagre evidence at our disposal we learn that the Muṉaiyadaraiyars patronised both Śaivism and Vaishṇavism. They made gifts of lands, money and sheep to the Śiva temples of Tirunāmanallūr[2], Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, Tukkāchchi, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Tiruppāchchūr, Kāḷahasti and to the Vishṇu temple at Srīraṅgam. The provision for recitation of the Vaishṇava scriptures like *Tiruppaḷḷieḻuchchi* and *Tiruvāymoḻi* in the temple at Srīraṅgam, deserves special attention[3]. That the author of the Chidambaram (verse) records cited above was a Muṉaiyadaraiya chief[4] is significant.

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[1]329 of 1913.

[2]*E. I.* Vol. VII, No. 19; *S. I. I* Vol VII, No. 999; *S. I. T. I* Vol I, No. 511; 114 of 1912; 2 of 1918; 510 of 1902; 145 and 150 of 1929-30; 157 of 1922; 167 of 1951-52; 122 and 123 of 1938-39.

[3]*S. I. I.* Vol. IV, No. 508.

[4]329 and 332 of 1913.

4. *The Gaṅgaraiyars* :

The Gaṅgaraiyars of Paṅgaḷanāḍu were an important feudatory line even in the Pallava period[1]. It is said that they were a branch of the W. Gaṅga dynasty[2]. But there is definite epigraphical evidence that they were of Tamil origin[3].

Āditya I Chōḷa's conquest of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam must have brought these chieftains under imperial control. Gaṅgamārttāṇḍa alias Śembiyaṉ Pṛithivīgaṅgaraiyar, son of Mahādēvar, of Paṅgaḷanāḍu who is mentioned in a Rājakēsari record ascribable to Āditya I, was a Chōḷa vassal[4]. We have no details of his career except a gift to a temple. His brother, Aḻiviṉ Kaḷḷarasi alias Sembiyaṉ Bhuvaṉigaṅgaraiyar was a feudatory of Parāntaka I[5].

The role of the Gaṅgaraiyars in the battle of Takkōlam (A. D. 949) is not specifically known. Still, there is some evidence to believe that the Gaṅgaraiyars might have assisted the Rāshṭrakūṭas against the Chōḷas. An epigraph of Śaka 871 (A. D. 949) mentions a chieftain of Paṅgaḷanāḍu by name Attimallar alias Kaṉṉaradēva Pṛithivīgaṅgaraiyar and refers to Kaṉṉaradēva Vallabha's victory

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[1] M. S. Govindasamy, *op. cit.*, pp. 132 and 133.

[2] *A. R. E.* 1930-31, pt. II, paragraph 8.

[3] No. 546 describes a Gaṅgaraiya chief as Vaṉṉiya Mādēvaṉ. Obviously the Gaṅgaraiyars were Vaṉṉiyas.

[4] *S. I. I.* Vol. XIII, No. 319; 117 of 1928.

[5] 139 of 1928; 177 of 1931; *S. I. I.* Vol XIX Nos. 277 and 286.

over the Chōḷa prince Rājāditya, son of Parāntaka I[1]. The manner in which the Gaṅgaraiya chieftain and the Rāshṭrakūṭa victory are referred to in the record, suggests that the Gaṅgaraiyars might have sided with the Rāshṭrakūṭas even before the battle[2]. Whatever it may be, there is no doubt that the Gaṅgaraiyars were no longer Chōḷa vassals. The name of the Gaṅgaraiya chieftain referred to above, clearly shows that he was a Rāshṭrakūṭa feudatory.

In the time of Āditya II Karikāla, son of Sundara Chōḷa, the Gaṅgaraiyars again figure as Chōḷa feudatories. The epigraphs of that Chōḷa prince refer to his Gaṅgaraiya vassal, Srīgaṅgaraiyaṉ Gaṅgachūḷāmaṇi alias Mummuḍisōḷa Śembiyaṉ Sīyagaṅgaraiyaṉ who was in charge of a part of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam[3]. A record of Uttama Chōḷa who succeeded Sundara Chōḷa, mentions his Gaṅgaraiya vassal by name Kampaṇaṉ Irāmaṉ alias Uttamasōḷa Piṛidigaṅgaraiyar of Paṅgaḷanāḍu[4]. We know nothing about these chiefs except their gifts. After this, we do not hear of the Gaṅgaraiyars for a long time.

In the time of Kulōttuṅga III we find a Gaṅgaraiya vassal by name Kūttāḍumdēvaṉ Pṛithivīgaṅgaṉ Vaṉṉiya Mādēvaṉ Aḷagiyasōḷaṉ[5].

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[1] *E. I.* Vol. VII, No. 26, p. 195.

[2] The same Gaṅgaraiya chieftain is referred to in a few more records of the period; 345 of 1912; *E. I.* Vol. VII, No. 26. Ins. D.

[3] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII Nos. 73 and 74.

[4] *S. I. I.* Vol. XIX No. 169; 352 of 1925.

[5] *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 137; 546 of 1902.

He was also known as Chōlēndrasimha Pṛithivīgaṅgaṉ alias Aḻagiyasōḻaṉ Varandarumperumāḷ[1]. He and another Gaṅgaraiya chief by name Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Piṟudīgaṅgaṉ alias Tiruvaṇṇāmalai-Uḍaiyāṉ were among the eleven feudatories who formed a coalition against the Bāṇa and Kāḍava rulers[2]. Apart from this, we know nothing about the political career of the two chiefs.

Chōlēndrasimha's son Sīyagaṅga alias Siṟaimīṭṭaperumāḷ was feudatory to both Kulōttuṅga III and Rājarāja III[3]. Siṟaimīṭṭaperumāḷ means one who rescued another from prison. We do not know the person rescued by this Gaṅgaraiya chief, and the title was borne by him even in the 35th year of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa.

Yet another Gaṅgaraiya vassal known from Kulōttuṅga III's epigraphs, is Uttamasōḻa Gaṅga alias Selvagaṅga[4]. His relationship to the other Gaṅgariya chiefs mentioned above is not known

Rājarāja III Chōḷa had some Gaṅgaraiya vassals Siṟaimīttaperumāḷ and Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Piṟudīgaṅgaṉ mentioned above continued to be loyal to the empire. Another Gaṅgaraiya chief of this period is Uttamasōḻa Vēṭṭum Amarābharaṇa[5], also known as Vīra Gaṅgaṉ[6]. Probably he was the successor of Uttamasōḻa Gaṅga alias Śelvagaṅga

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[1]558 of 1902; *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 149; 162 of 1904.

[2]*S. I. I.* Vol VIII, No. 106.

[3]589 of 1919 and 296 of 1953-54. The latter record contains an error. Rājādhirāja mentioned here must be Rājarāja III.

[4]559 of 1906.

[5]551 of 1906.

[6]562 of 1906.

mentioned above. It is very interesting that he and his predecessor are mentioned in some inscriptions from the Kolar district[1]. No information is available about the role of these chiefs in the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya wars or in the Kāḍava revolt.

In the reign of Rājēndra III Chōḷa, we come across a Gaṅgaraiya chief by name Pṛithivīgaṅga. According to a record of Rājēndra III, Pṛithivīgaṅga was defeated by the Hoysaḷa *daṇḍanāyaka* Simhaṇa[2]. Dr. Derrett thinks that the event was a part of Rājēndra III Chōḷa's campaign against Sōmēśvara[3]. It is highly probable. An inscription of A. D. 1258 describes a certain Pṛithigaṅgar as a disturber of peace and a *rājadurōhi* (royal enemy)[4]. It is not known whether this chief is identical with his namesake mentioned above. Whatever it may be, the record shows the general unrest prevailing in the empire probably following the successful *digvijaya* of Sundara I Pāṇḍya.

The Nīlagaṅgaraiya chiefs who were subordinate to Kōpperuñjiṅga I and Kōpperuñjiṅga II were probably different from the Gaṅgaraiyars of Paṅgaḷanāḍu.

Religion :

Not much information is available about the contribution of the Gaṅgaraiyars to religion or culture. Their epigraphs record gifts to

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[1]*A. R. E.* 1907, Pt. II paragraph 68.

[2]*S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 88; 498 of 1902.

[3]*op.cit.*, p. 126.

[4]*S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 118.

the Śiva temples of Neyyāḍipākkam, Tiruppaḻanam, Sīyamaṅgalam, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Tiruppalātturai, Laḍḍigam, Tiruchchātturai, Paḻaṅkōil, Shōlingūr and to the Aruḷāḷapperumāḷ temple at Kāñchi[1].

5. *The Vaidumbas*:

The Vaidumbas, a Telugu feudatory dynasty, were probably in possession of a part of Northern Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam in the 9th century A. D. Their alliance with the Bāṇas involved them in the war with Parāntaka I Chōḷa. The battle of Tiruvallam (Tiruvala or Vallala) ended in the defeat of the Vaidumbas[2]. Subsequently the Vaidumbas threw in their lot with the Rāshṭrakūṭas, and when Krishṇa III invaded the Chōḷa empire, the Vaidumbas assisted him in the war. After the Rāshṭrakūṭa victory at Takkōlam the Vaidumbas were ruling over a part of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam on behalf of the Rāshṭrakūta emperor. Vaidumba Mahārāja Sandayaṉ Tiruvayaṉ also known as Srīkaṇṭa was such a vassal of Krishṇa III[3]. It is not known if he is identical with Srī Vikramāditya, also a Vaidumba vassal of the same Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor, in charge of Malāḍu, Vāṇakōppāḍi, Siṅgapuranāḍu and Veṇkuṉṟakōṭṭam-all in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam[4]

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[1]212 of 1901; *S. I. I.* Vol. XIII, No. 319; *S. I. I.* Vol. XIX No. 286; *S. I. I* Vol. VII, Nos. 73 and 74; 496, 546 and 558 of 1902; 480 of 1903; 551 of 1906; *S. I. I.* Vol XIX, No. 277; *ibid* No. 169; 296 of 1953-54; 589 of 1919.

[2]T.V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 45; 439 of 1914.

[3]235, 267, 268 of 1902; 743 of 1905.

[4]16 of 1905.

On the disappearance of the Rāshṭrakūṭa rule in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam the Vaidumbas maintained friendly relations with the Later Chōḷas. Ariñjaya Chōḷa who succeeded Gaṇḍarāditya, married a Vaidumba princess and this alliance must have strengthened the Chōḷa position in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. Sandayaṉ Tiruvayaṉ II, his son, Saṅkaradēva, the successors of Tiruvayaṉ I were feudatory to Rājarāja I Chōḷa[1]. Naṉṉamaraiyar, another Vaidumba vassal of Rājarāja I Chōḷa was in charge of a part of the Cuddapah district[2]. Similarly, Sōmanātha, son of Saṅkaradēva, was a vassal of Rājēndra I Chōḷa[3].

An inscription of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa from the Chittoor district dated 49th year mentions a Vaidumba feudatory by name Vaidumbarājaṉ Tiḍalīśaṉ[4]. No ther information is available about him. An epigraph of Rājādhirāja II (alias Karikāla) Chōḷa from the South Arcot district mentions a certain Vaidumbarāyaṉ[5]. He seems to have held a very high position in the Chōḷa government. An inscription of Rājarāja III Chōḷa dated 10th year mentions a Vaidumba vassal by name Vaidumba Mahārājaṉ Rājēndrasōḷa Mummuḍi Vishṇudēvaṉ Duraiarasaṉ[6]. He was also known Trailōkkiyamallaṉ, Giridurgamallaṉ, Pāṇḍya Gajakēśari etc[7]. The fact that he called himself Pāṇḍya Gajakēśari (i.e., slayer of the Pāṇḍya elephant) suggests that

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[1] *A. R. E* 1902, Pt. II, p. 49; *S. I. I.* Vol. III, pp. 104-108.

[2] *ibid*.

[3] *ibid*

[4] 443 of 1940-41.

[5] 263 of 1913.

[6] *S. I. I.* Vol. IV, No. 816.

[7] *ibid*

he might have helped the Chōḷa emperor in his fight with the Pāṇḍyas. We have no further information on this matter.

On the whole our knowledge of the Vaidumbas is so meagre that no detailed investigation of their role in imperial affairs is possible.

6. *The Adigamāṉs* :

The Adigamāṉs (also called Adigaimāṉs or Adiyamāṉs) were an ancient line of feudatories claiming descent from the Chēras and ruling from Tagaḍūr (The modern Dharmapuri) in the Salem district. After the Saṅgam period, they were again prominent for some time during the Pallava period[1] but their subsequent history is not clear. The absence of any reference to the subjugation of the Adigamāṉs in the records of Rājarāja I Chōḷa is significant. It seems that after the battle of Sōremaṭi (A. D. 875), the Noḷamba Pallava ruler Mahēndra extended his rule to the Adigamāṉ territory. A number of Noḷamba epigraphs[2] found in Tagaḍūrnāḍu i e., the territory of the Adigamāṉs, show that the Noḷamba Pallavas were in possession of that region. It was from them that Rājarāja I Chōḷa conquered Tagaḍūranāḍu. Naturally, Rājarāja I's records are silent on the Adigamāṉs.

From a record at Paṭṭukkaṉampaṭṭi (Salem dt.) of Rājarāja I Chōḷa we leran that Tagaḍūrnāḍu was granted by the emperor to a

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[1] M. S. Govindasamy, *op.cit.*, pp. 112-124.
[2] *vide. T. L. I. M. P.*, Salem Nos. 74, 75, 76, 81, 82, and 83;
[3] *A. R. E* 1911, Pt. II, Paragraph 14; *A. R. E* 1913, Pt. II, Paragraph 14; *A. R. E.* 1917, Pt. II, Paragraph 1.

certain Pañchavaṉ Brahmādhirāyaṉ for maintenance (jivitam) and that he was ruling it[1]. Obviously the Adigamāṉs were still in oblivion.

Again we hear of the Adigamāṉs only in the time of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa. An epigraph from Srīraṅgam of that Chōḷa dated 13th year, mentions his *Sēnāpati* Vīrarājēndra Adigaimāṉ[2]. Very probably he is identical with the Adigaṉ who defeated the king of Northern Kaliṅga, according to the *Vikramasōḷaṉulā* (ll. 171 and 172). In that case, the Adigamāṉ chief must have played an important part in the second Kaliṅga campaign of Kulōttuṅga I The same Adigamāṉ must have continued as *Sēnāpati* in the reign of Vikrama Chōḷa as the reference to him in the *Vikramasōḷaṉulā* indicates.

Another inscription of Kulōttuṅga I from Tinnevelly district mentions an Adigamāṉ by name Poṉpaṟṟi-Uḍaiyāṉ Sēndaṉ Kōnambi alias Adigamāṉ[3]. He must be a member of the Adigamāṉ dynasty, but his status, career and relationship to Vīrarājēndra Adigamāṉ are not known.

In the reign of Kulōttuṅga II Chōḷa there was an Adigamāṉ vassal who made arrangement for revival of worship in the three temples of Dharmapuri[4]. No other information about him is available.

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[1] 254 of 1909.

[2] 118 of 1938-39.

[3] *S. I. I.* Vol. V, No. 727.

[4] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, Nos. 533 and 534.

The next known Adigamāṉ chief is Rājarājadēvaṉ (c.A.D. 1158-c. 1198), the chieftain of Tagaḍūrnāḍu[1] also known as Piṟanda-perumāḷ[2]. He was the father of Viḍugadaḻagiyaperumāḷ, the most renowned Adigamāṉ ruler[3]. It seems that he had a long rule and that he was feudatory to Rājarāja II, Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttuṅga III. Prof. Sastri's identification of this Adigamāṉ chief with Sāmantaṉ Adiyamāṉ of the Tirumāṇikuḻi inscription[4] is highly probable. In spite of his long rule, the career of Rājarājadēvaṉ alias Adigamāṉ is not adequately known. For one thing the Chōḷa emperors had no serious problem, political or military, from that quarter on account of the friendly relations with the Hoysaḷas[5].

Another Adigamāṉ vassals of Kulōttuṅga III was Vīraśēkharaṉ alias Adigamāṉ[6]. He must be different from the Adigamāṉ mentioned above because he is described as chief of Kūḍalūr in Vesālippādināḍu. His relationship to Rājarājadēva Adigamāṉ is not known; nor do we know anything else about his career.

Viḍugādaḻagiyaperumāḷ (c. A. D. 1198-c. 1220), the son and successor of Rājarājadēva Adigamāṉ, was also known Rājarāja Adigamāṉ[7]. There is a large number of his records in the Salem,

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[1] 536 of 1902

[2] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII No. 127; 115 of 1900.

[3] 90 and 91 of 1887.

[4] 161 of 1902; Also 244 of 1955-56.

[5] *The Cōḷas*, P. 406.

[6] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 941; 312 of 1902.

[7] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 119.

Chittoor, North Arcot and South Arcot districts. Some of them mention no overlord, but such records do not carry any political importance. Further, they are in verse. In the 22nd year of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa (A. D. 1200) this Adigamāṉ describes himself as the lord of the three rivers Kāvēri, Peṇṇāṟu and Pālāṟu[1]. Regarding this Dr. Hultzsch remarks: 'It may be assumed that the Pālāṟu formed the northern boundary of the king's territory and the Kāvēri the western one, while the southern Peṇṇāṟu passes not far north-east from his capital Tagaḍūr, the modern Dharmapuri'[2]. There is no doubt that Viḍugādaḻagiyaperumāḷ's territory extended as far north as Puṅganūr in the Chittoor district as his inscriptions indicate[3]. In A. D. 1199 Viḍugādaḻagiyaperumāḷ concluded a pact with Seṅgēṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Attimallaṉ alias Vikramasōḻa Śambuvarāyaṉ and Malaiyaṉ Viṉaiyaiveṉṟāṉ alias Karikālasōḻa Ādaiyūr Nāḍāḷvāṉ[4]. Some time after this the same Adigamāṉ chieftain concluded another political compact with the same chiefs against (1) Yādavarāya (2) Sīyagaṅga (3) and Kulōttuṅgasōḻa Śambuvarāya[5]. Further, the allied chiefs agreed to maintain their respective boundaries as they existed in the time of Rājarāja II Chōḷa. It is not known what led to these pacts. But the rivalry among the feudatory chiefs is clear. The fact that the leading vassals made compacts with one another for maintaining their respective jurisdiction, shows the growing helplessness of the imperial authority in such vital matters.

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[1] *E. I.* Vol. VI, pp. 332-4.

[2] *E I.* Vol. VI, p. 333.

[3] *A. R. E.* 1907, p. 74.

[4] *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 119; 107 of 1900.

[5] *ibid*.

One of the undated verse inscriptions of Viḍugādaḻagiyaperumāḷ found at Laḍḍigam, (Chittoor dt) states that his enemies were the Kāḍava, the Magada and the Gaṅga[1]. Already, we saw the Adigamāṉ chieftain concluding a pact against Sīyagaṅga after the 21st year of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa. Now the Kāḍava and the Magada (i.e., the Bāṇa chief) became his enemies. It is difficult to account for the enmity between these chiefs and the Adigamāṉ. We do not know if any war was fought between these rulers. Since the records at Laḍḍigam are undated, it is difficult to give the exact date of this political development. It may have happened towards the end of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa's reign. But one thing is clear i.e., Viḍugādaḻagiyaperumāḷ was so powerful as to brave the enmity of the most powerful of the fellow feudatories viz., the Kāḍava and Bāṇa rulers. It is interesting to note that the Adigamāṉ chief engraved his emblems like bow on the *gōpura* of the Nīlakaṇṭēśvara temple at Laḍḍigam[2] and called himself Adigaṉ, Adhikēndra and Adigēśaṉ[3].

After this, we hear of the Adigamāṉ in connection with the first Pāṇḍya invasion of the Chōḷa empire in the reign of Rājarāja III. In A. D. 1219 the Hoysaḷa emperor Ballāḷa II claims to have been a 'mill-stone to Adiyamā' (i.e., the Adigamāṉ) besides being the 'architect of the establishment of the Chōḷa kingdom[4] The Adigamāṉ referred to here must be in all probability Viḍugaḻagiyaperumāḷ. The

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[1]552 of 1906.

[2]545 and 547 of 1906.

[3]547 and 565 of 1906.

[4]Dr. Derrett, *op.cit.*, p. 109 and K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyaṉ Kingdom*, p. 132.

conflict between the Hoysaḷa and the Adigamāṉ chief must have happened in connection with the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya war in which the Hoysaḷa played a decisive role in favour of Rājarāja III Chōḷa. The Adigamāṉ must have sided the with Pāṇḍya, and was therefore subdued by the Hoysaḷa. Otherwise there would not have been such a reference to him in the Hoysaḷa record. We do not know how long after this, Viḍugādaḻagiyaperumāḷ remained in power.

The successors of Viḍugādaḻagiyaperumāḷ seem to have come under Pāṇḍya control[1]. Inscriptions of Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya dated 9th year (A. D. 1260) mention a certain Sāmanta Kāmaṉ Arasaṉ alias Adiyamāṇḍēvaṉ[2]. There is no doubt that this chief was an Adigamāṉ, but his relationship to Viḍugādaḻagiyaperumāḷ is not known. It is significant that after Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa we do not find any Adigamāṉ figuring as Chōḷa vassal.

Contribution to Religion and Learning:

The Adigamāṉs patronised all religions and their records mention their gifts to the Śiva temples of Dharmapuri[3], Tiruvaṇṇāmalai[4], Tirumāṇikuḻi[5], and Tiruveṇṇainainallūr[6]. The Adigamāṉ vassal of Kulōttuṅga II Chōḷa made arrangement for renovation and revival of worship in the three Śiva temples of Dharmapuri[7]. Though

[1]296 of 1910.
[2]*S. I. T. I.* Vol. I Nos. 480, 481 and 482.
[3]*S. I. I.* Vol. VII, Nos. 533 and 534.
[4]536 of 1902; *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 126.
[5]161 of 1902.
[6]312 of 1902; *S. I. I.* Vol. VII, 941.
[7]*S. I. I.* Vol. VII, Nos. 533 and 534.

Viḍugādaḻagiyaperumāḷ's epigraphs are found in the Śiva temples at Laḍḍigam and Agaśtikōṇḍa hill no information is available about his benefactions to them[1]. In A. D. 1200 he built a Śiva temple at Sīṟukōṭṭai on the banks of the Peṇṇār and called it after his name[2].

As regards Adigamāṉ patronage of Vaishṇavism we have only a few records. In A. D. 1183 Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa's general Vīrarājēndra Adigamāṉ made a gift to the famous Vishṇu temple at Srīraṅgam[3]. In A. D. 1197 Sāmantaṉ Adiyamāṉ, very probably identical with the father of Viḍugādaḻagiyaperumāḷ, made a gift to the Vishṇu temple at Tiruvēndipuram[4].

Regarding their patronage of Jainism we have definite evidence. That not only Viḍugādaḻagiyaperumāḷ but also some of his predecessors supported Jainism is clear from the inscriptions at Tirumalai in the North Arcot district. Eḻini, one of the predecessors of Viḍugādaḻagiyaperumāḷ, had installed the images of a Yaksha and a Yakshi on the hill at Tirumalai, and Viḍugādaḻagiyaperumāḷ had them repaired, presented a gong and constructed a channel for feeding the local tank[5].

The epigraphs in verse of Viḍugādaḻagiyaperumāḷ, show that he was a lover and patron of learning[6]. Unfortunately, nothing is known about their authorship.

[1] Nos. 565, 544, 545, 547 and 552 of 1906.

[2] 8 of 1900.

[3] 118 of 1938-39.

[4] 244 of 1955-56.

[5] *S. I. I.* Vol. I, No.75; 90 and 91 of 1887.

[6] *ibid*; 565, 544, 547 and 552 of 1906.

7. *The Nolambas*:

The Noḷambas or Noḷamba Pallavas claiming descent from the Pallavas ruled over Noḷambavāḍi 32000 (Chitaladrug and Bellary districts of Mysore). In the 9th century A. D. the Noḷamba kingdom included a portion of the Salem distirct[1] and the Noḷambas maintained matrimonial alliances with the Gaṅgas[2]. The Noḷamba ruler Dilīpa or Dilīparāsa seems to have assisted the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Krishṇa III in his invasion of the Chōḷa empire[3]. Subsequently the Noḷamba power was very much weakened by the Prolonged hostility of the W. Gaṅgas. After this, Rājarāja I Chōḷa conquered Noḷambavāḍi along with Gaṅgavāḍi in the time of Vira Mahēndra Noḷambadhirāja[4]. The Chōḷa conquest of Noḷambavāḍi seems to have been preceded by a Noḷamba raid into the Chōḷa territory[5].

It seems that after Rājarāja I Chōḷa's conquest of their territory, the Noḷambas became feudatory to the W Chāḷukyas[6]. Still, inscriptions of the time of Rājarāja I mention some Noḷamba chiefs who were vassals of the Imperial Chōḷas Nolambādhiraja Chōrayya[7],

[1] *A. R. E.* 1911, Pt. II, paragraph 14.
[2] *ibid*.
[3] *A. R. E.* 1917, Pt. II, p. 106; *Mys. Gaz.* Vol. II Pt II, pp. 577 and 578.
[4] *ibid*. p. 580.
[5] *ibid*. p. 579.
[6] *Mys. Gaz.* Vol. II, Pt. II, pp. 581-83.
[7] *E. C* Vol. X Mulbagal 208 and Chintamani No. 118.

Nuḷambar Vīrasōḻa[1] were feudatories of that emperor. Noḷambavāḍi was part of the Chōḷa empire in the time of Rājēndra I Chōḷa and was also known as Nigarilisōḻamaṇḍalam[2].

That individual Noḷamba chiefs continued to be loyal to the Chōḷas is clear from Chōḷa records. A certain Nuḷambarājar who was a general of Rājēndra II Chōḷa is seen making a gift to the Śiva temple at Kiḻūr in the South Arcot district[3]. Similarly, an epigraph of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa dated 12th year refers to a certain Sīrāmaṉ Ādittapiḍāraṉ alias Nuḷambadhirājaṉ[4]. Probably he is identical with the Nuḷambarājaṉ referred to in a few other records of the same emperor[5]. The manner in which he is referred to suggests that he was an officer in the Chōḷa government. Another epigraph from the Chittoor district of the same emperor[6] refers to the construction of a channel by Sokkanāyaṉ, the son of Paramaṇḍalāditta Virudarāja-bhayaṅkara-duttargaṇḍa-Rājēndrasōḻa Gaṅga Nuḷambaṉ Mulvāy-maṇḍalikaṉ Nuḷambadēvar. Obviously both the father and son must be vassals of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa. Probably Rājēndrasōḻa Gaṅga Nuḷambaṉ is identical with the Noḷamba chief who distinguished himself in the fights at Kōṭṭār and Kollam, according to the *Vikrama-sōḻanulā*[7]. Mulvāy-maṇḍalam may be identical with the Mulvāyrājya of the Vijayanagar period.

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. XIII, No. 155; 362 of 1925.
[2] 183 of 1911.
[3] *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 886.
[4] 407 of 1929-30.
[5] 93, 94, 95 and 96 of 1910.
[6] 568 of 1906.
[7] *The Cōḷas,* p. 347.

After this we hear again of the Noḷamba chiefs in the time of Kulōttuṅga II Chōḷa. An epigraph of that emperor from the Trichinopoly district mentions a Nuḷambar whose daughter made a gift to the temple at Tirumaḻavādi[1]. Similarly, an inscription of Rājādhirāja II Chōḷa records a gift to the Aruḷāḷaperumāḷ temple at Kāñchi by Sōḻamārāsaṉ Kaṭṭi Nuḷambaṉ Srī Maṉṉubhujabalavīraṉ Ahōmallarāsaṉ Keḍuvattigaṇḍaṉ, the *Maṇḍalika* of Gaṅgamaṇḍalam[2]. The record shows that, in spite of Hoysaḷa efforts, the Chōḷa emperor maintained his hold on the W. Gaṅga territory and that a Noḷamba chieftain was its governor.

Some epigraphs of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa mention an officer by name Nuḷambarāya[3]. It is not known whether he was a Noḷamba chief or a different one bearing Noḷamba title. He must be different from Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vīrarākshasa Vīrarājēndra Vīranuḷamba Duraiyaraisaṉ, lord of Kāñchipuram, a Noḷamba feudatory of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa[4]. Since he is described as Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara and lord of Kāñchipuram, it is probable that at least for some time he was in charge of the Kāñchi region in the early years of Kulōttuṅga III. This Noḷamba chief was so important as to have his own *Pradhānis*[5].

In the early years of Rājarāja III Chōḷa Noḷambavāḍi continued under Chōḷa overlordship as is evident from an epigraph[6] from

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[1] 35 of 1920.

[2] *S. I. I.* Vol. IV, No. 861.

[3] 113, 120 and 130 of 1927-28; 111 of 1910; 83 of 1926.

[4] 632 of 1904.

[5] 89 of 1922.

[6] 303 of 1913.

the South Arcot district. The inscription records a gift of land for a flower-garden by Umaiyāḻvi, daughter of Vijaya-nuḷambaṉ, chief of Nuḷambapāḍi alias Nigarilisōḻa-maṇḍalam[1]. The Chōḻa emperor's hold on Noḷambavāḍi, an outlying province, must be viewed in the light of Chōḻa-Hoysaḷa friendship during the period under consideration.

Inscriptions of Rājēndra III Chōḻa mention no Noḷamba vassal. An undated Tamil inscription from Dharmapuri, Salem district, mentions a certain Madurāntaka Vīranuḷambaṉ Rājanārāyaṇa Vayiravaṉ Poṉṉambala Kūttaṉ[2]. Since the record makes no reference to any overlord he may be assigned to the later half of the 13th century when there was much political confusion in that part of the empire.

8. *The Nishadarāyas*:

The Nishadarāyas figure as Chōḻa feudatories from the time of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḻa. Nothing is known about their origin and early history. There were two families of the Nishadarāyas one ruling from Poṉṉamarāvati[3] and the other from Tirukkoḍuṅkuṉṟam i.e., Piṟāṉmalai[4] They seem to have exercised their sway over the south west of the former Pudukkottai State and a part of the neighbouring Ramnad district[5].

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[1]*ibid*.

[2]*S. I. I.* Vol. VII, No. 7.

[3]Pon-Amaravati in the Pudukkottai district.

[4]Ramnad district - 320 of 1914.

[5]*M. P. S.* Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 614; *A. R. E.* 1928-29, Pt. II p. 75.

The earliest reference to the Nishadarāyas is found in the records of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa. In his reign a certain Nishadarāya was an *adhikāri* in the temple at Srīraṅgam[1]. In the 42nd year of the emperor (A. D. 1112) a compact was made between two chiefs bearing the family title Tuvarāpativēḷāṉ viz., Sundarattōḷāṉ Kaṇḍaṉ alias Rājēndrasōḻa Tuvarāpativēḷāṉ and Kaṇḍaṉ Maṅgaḷattēvaṉ alias Tuvarāpativēḷāṉ in order to safeguard their life, possession, power and prestige[2]. That these chiefs belonged to the Nishadarāya group is clear from a record of Vikrama Chōḷa[3]. Besides showing the political status of the two Nishadarāya chiefs, the record mentioning the pact[4], indicates the early prevalence of the practice of local chiefs making private compacts to safeguard their interests.

In the 3rd year of Vikrama Chōḷa (A. D. 1121), a similar compact was made between Rājēndrasōḻaṉ alias Nishadarāyaṉ and Kaṇḍaṉ Sundarattōḷāṉ alias Tuvarāpativēḷāṉ[5]. A 7th year record of the same emperor mentions another chief Sundaṉ Gaṅgaikoṇḍāṉ alias Tuvarāpativēḷāṉ[6]. His relationship to the preceding chiefs is not known. Still there is no doubt that he was a vassal of Vikrama Chōḷa.

After this we hear of the Nishadarāya chiefs again in the reign of Rājarāja II Chōḷa. Vīmaṉ Rājēndrasōḻaṉ alias Nishadarāya who

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[1]124 of 1938-39; *S. I. I.* Vol. III, No. 70.
[2]65 of 1928-29; *A. R. E.* 1928-29, Pt. II, p. 75.
[3]55 of 1928-29.
[4]65 of 1928-29.
[5]55 of 1928-29.
[6]47 of 1928-29.

built the central shrine of the Chōlēśvara temple at Poṉṉamarāvati[1] was a feudatory of Rājarāja II Chōḷa. He was also known as Rājēndrasōḻaṉ Kēraḷaṉ alias Nishadarājaṉ[2]. No information is available about his service, political or military, to the empire.

In the reign of Rājādhirāja II Chōḷa one Kōḷaṉ Tirukkoḍuṅkuṉṟamuḍaiyāṉ alias Nishadarājaṉ of Poṉṉamarāvati figures as a Chōḷa feudatory[3]. He must be different from the Koḍuṅkuṉṟamuḍaiyār alias Nishadarāja referred to in a record of Kulōttuṅga III dated 39th year[4] as the interval is fairly long-47 years. His name suggests that the two families of Nishadarāyas were united under his leadership. But we are not certain about it; nor do we know anything significant about his career.

Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa had some Nishadarāya feudatories. One of them was Rājēndrasōḻaṉ (II) Kēraḷaṉ alias Nishadarājaṉ of Poṉṉamarāvati[5]. As noted above, he must be different from his namesake, a vassal of Rājarāja II Chōḷa. He is probably identical with the Kēraḷāṇḍār referred to in another record of Kulōttuṅga dated 39th year[6] as the father-in-law Tirukkoḍuṅkuṉṟamuḍaiyār

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[1] 9 of 1909.

[2] *C L I. P. S.* No. 131 and 133.

[3] 43 of 1916.

[4] 320 of 1914.

[5] *C. L. I. P. S.* No. 147; 35 of 1928-29; *contra The C as* (O. Ed.) Vol. II, pt. II, p, 566; Prof. Sastri assigns this chief to the period of Kulōttuṅga I.

[6] 320 of 1914.

alias Nishadarāyar. This chief is described as one 'who captured Poṉṉamarāvati'[1]. But we know no details of this achievement.

Another Nishadarāya vassal of Kulōttuṅga III was Tirukkoḍuṅkuṉṟamuḍaiyāṉ Kēraḷaṉ alias Vīramaḻagiya Nishadarāya, a chief of Pirāṉmalai[2]. He was also known Aḻagiyadēvaṉ[3] and Nilamaiaḻagiyadēvaṉ[4]. The mention of his name in some epigraphs of Jaṭāvarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara I Pāṇḍya (A. D. 1190-1216) from Ramnad district[5] raises a doubt whether he turned against the Chōḷa. That probability cannot be ruled out because that Pāṇḍya himself was, before A. D. 1202, at war with Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa[6]. But the final victory of the Chōḷa emperor over the Pāṇḍya must have brought this Nishadarāya chief again under Chōḷa control as the later records of Kulōttuṅga III show[7]. As noted above, this Nishadarāya was the son-in-law of the preceding chief.

Another Nishadarāya feudatory of Kulōttuṅga III was Kēraḷaṉ Maṅgaḷadēvaṉ alias Nishadarāya[8]. His relationship to the other

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[1] *A. R. E.* 1915, pt. II, p. 100

[2] 311 of 1927-28 and 23 of 1928-29; *contra*, *The Cōlas* (O.Ed), pt. II, p. 571. Prof. Sastri wrongly assigns him to the reign of Kulōttuṅga I.

[3] 29 of 1928-29.

[4] *C. L. I. P. S.* No. 148.

[5] 29 of 1928-29, 7th year and 10 of 1909, 23rd year records.

[6] T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, *Pāṇḍyar Varalāṟu*, pp. 108 and 109.

[7] *C. L. I. P. S* Nos. 161, 168 and 174.

[8] *C. L. I. P. S* No. 213,

Nishadarāya chiefs of the period is not known; nor do we know anything else about him except a gift.

After the reign of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa, the Nishadarāyas seem to have thrown in their lot with the Pāṇḍyas. In fact, no record of Rājarāja III Chōḷa or Rājēndra III Chōḷa is found in the Nishadarāya territory. On the other hand, Pāṇḍya inscriptions, particularly those of Jaṭāvarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara I Pāṇḍya and Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya, found in the region show the replacement of Chōḷa rule by that of the Pāṇḍyas. The establishment of Pāṇḍya rule in the Nishadarāya territory must have considerably weakened the declining Chōḷa power and facilitated Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya's successful invasions of the Chōḷa empire in the time of Rājarāja III Chōḷa.

Administration :

Not much information is available about the administration of the Nishadarāyas. An epigraph from the Ramnad district of Vikrama Chōḷa records the grant of compensation to the family of soldiers who had fallen fighting[1]. "Sundaṉ Gaṅgaikoṇḍāṉ alias Tuvarāpativēḷāṉ promised to make a grant of 8 *ma* of land ($2\frac{2}{3}$ acres) as Udirapaṭṭi, evidently tax-free, to the soldiers who had shed their blood on the battlefield, but in the case of the servants with arms, evidently camp-followers who met with their death either in battle or on account of sickness, this chief decided to recover a portion of the tax which their relatives could give, and waive even this recovery, if payment was

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[1]47 of 1927.

found infeasible"[1]. The chieftain mentioned in the record must be identified with Kaṇḍan Sundarattōḷāṉ alias Tuvarāpativēḷāṉ figuring in another record of Vikram[2].

Religion :

The temple of Rājēndrasōḻīśvaramuḍaiya Mahādēva at Poṉṉamarāvati was built by Vīmaṉ Rājēndrasōḻaṉ alias Nishadarāya in the reign of Rājarāja II Chōḷa[3]. The temple must have been named after the builder and not after Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa[4]. Later in the 18th year of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa (A. D. 1196) a *maṭha* called 'Nilamaiaḻagiyāṉ *tirumaḍam*' was constructed within the temple by Koḍuṅkuṉṟamuḍaiyāṉ Aḻagiyadēvaṉ Nishadarāyaṉ[5]. The *maṭha* was named after its builder who was also known as Nilamaiaḻagiyāṉ. The same chief built the verandah round the central shrine of the goddess in the same temple[6]. Again, the same chieftain made provision for feeding the pilgrims halting in the *maṭha* called Tirugnānasambandaṉ-guhai at Chaturvēdimaṅgalam, Ramnad district[7] and for Vīramaḻagiyāṉ *Sandhi* in the Śiva temple at Sivapuri. (same district). The Ammaṉ Shrine of the temple at Sāttaṉūr was also built by him[9]. His queen, Kaṇṇuḍaiyaperumāḷ alias Pirāṭṭiāḻvār, built the

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[1] *A. R. E.* 1928-29, Pt. II. P. 75.

[2] 55 of 1928-29.

[3] 4 and 9 of 1909.

[4] *contra*, *A. R. E.* 1909, pt II, p. 101.

[5] 5 of 1909.

[6] 13 of 1909.

[7] 311 of 1927-28.

[8] same district, 23 and 29 of 1928-29.

[9] *C. L. I. P. S.*, No. 168.

shrine of the goddess in the temple at Tiruvaraṅguḷam, Pudukkottai dt[1]. Other records of the Nishadarāyas mention their gifts to other temples.

To Conclude despite their long subordination to the Chōḷas from the time of Āditya I Chōḷa, not much information is available about the Muttaraiyars' role in imperial affairs. They assisted Rājarāja I in the Ceylonese campaign, and Rājēndra I in the war with the Western Chāḷukya Satyāśraya. From the time of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa, they figure as local rulers in the South Arcot district. Their ardent support to Śaivism is clear from their records.

The Western Gaṅgas assisted the Chōḷas in the conquest of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. Their subsequent history is not very much known. Rājarāja III Chōḷa had a prominent W. Gaṅga vassal. Subsequently the Telugu Chōḷas exercised their sway over the W. Gaṅgas. The author of *Naṉṉūl* was patronised by a Gaṅga chief.

The Muṉaiyadaraiyars were less prominent than others in imperial affairs. After the battle of Takkōlam. they were for a short period subordinate to the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Later they changed their allegiance to the Imperial Chōḷas. In the conflict between Rājēndra III Chōḷa and Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya some Muṉaiya chiefs are known to have supported the Pāṇḍya. The Muṉaiyadaraiyars supported Saivism and Vaishṇavism, and encouraged religious learning.

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[1]320 of 1914.

The Gaṅgaraiyars of Paṅgaḷanāḍu were subordinate to the Chōḷas in the time of Āditya I Chōḷa and then changed their loyalty to the Rāshṭrakūṭas probably playing a hostile part in the battle of Takkōlam. Later they became Chōḷa vassals. There is no adequate evidence about their role in imperial affairs.

The Vaidumbas were not prominent as Chōḷa vassals, and Rājarāja III Chōḷa seems to have been helped by a Vaidumba vassal in his fight against the Pāṇḍyas

The Adigamāṉs helped Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa in the second Kaliṅga campaign, and generally safeguarded the imperial interests against the ambitious Hoysaḷas. In the time of Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa, their policy aggravated the dissensions among the chief vassals, and Viḍugādaḻagiyaperumāḷ was opposed to the Bāṇa and Kāḍava rulers. When Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya first invaded the Chōḷa empire, the Adigamāṉ chief turned against the Chōḷa emperor. But he was subdued by the Hoysaḷas. The Adigamāṉs patronised all creeds and Tamil learning.

Individual Nolamba chiefs became Chōḷa vassals in the time of Rājarāja I and served in the imperial army and administration. A Nolamba chief took part in Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa's southern campaign particularly at Kōṭṭār. In the time of Rājarāja III Chōḷa, a Noḷamba chieftain was in charge of Noḷambapāḍi also known as Nigarilisōḻamaṇḍalam. Later, the Noḷamhas seem to have become independent of imperial control.

The Nishadarāyas who figure as Chōḷa vassals from the time of Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa were the first to start the practice of making private political pacts for maintaining their political position. After Kulōttuṅga III Chōḷa, they became feudatory to the Pāṇḍyas.

CONCLUSION

Now we shall see the general condition of the feudatories their service as well as disservice to the emperors and their responsibility for the decline of the empire. For the purpose of understanding the changing condition of the vassals we may divide the history of the Imperial Chōḷas into three periods: (1) From Vijayālaya to Uttama Chōḷa (2) From Rājarāja I to Adhirājēndra (3) From Kulōttuṅga I to Rājēndra III. In the first period, the Chōḷas moved closely with the subordinate dynasties, made matrimonial alliances with them and sought their help for the consolidation and expansion of their power. Understandably the feudatories figure a little prominently in the records of the period. The second period witnessed the deification of the Chōḷa monarchy and a very strong central government. Naturally, comparatively fewer references to the activities of the vassals are found in the epigraphs of the period. In the last period, their number grew, and their political and military activities were on the increase.

Generally the vassals were in charge of the administration of some territory, big or small. They had their own armies, and assisted the emperors in war and diplomacy. Later, consequent on the decline of royal authority, they exercised effective administrative and military control over their territories. It is significant that some feudatories like the Koṅgu Chōḷas and Telugu Chōḷas had their own coinage, in addition to the imperial coinage. Normally vassals used to issue their records in the name and regnal year of their overlord, and many feudatories bore the name or title of their suzerain to indicate their subordination. But there were some exceptions. Those feudatories who were very powerful or who were related to the imperial family like the Kāḍavas, did not observe such formalities. Instances of loyal feudatories dating their records in Śaka era or in their own regnal years have been cited. All that depended on the political situation and on the might of the vassal. Generally speaking, the suzerain's hand weighed lightly on the more powerful and remoter vassals Sometimes the vassals acted as ministers or generals of the overlord. From the time of Kulōttuṅga I we find the feudatories making private compacts to safeguard their own position, power and prestige. As time went on, this practice grew widely and led to internecine wars. The emperors did nothing to check this evil. The Chōḷa feudal system, a quasi-feudal one, to use Prof. Basham's words, 'differed from that of Europe in that the relations of overlord and vassal were not regularly based on contract".

As regards the services rendered by the feudatories to the empire we shall make a brief survey. There is the possibility of W. Gaṅga Mārasimha II assisting Āditya I in his conquest of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, although we have no specific evidence about it.

The Koḍumbāḷūr chief Vikramakēsari seems to have helped the emperor in the annexation of Koṅgu. It is likely that the Koḍumbāḷūr chief and his predecessors were, to a certain extent, responsible for the Muttaraiya subordination to the Chōḷas.

In the reign of Parāntaka I, he was ably assisted by the Paḻuvēṭṭaraiya and Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs in his wars against the Pāṇḍya and Ceylonese rulers. Similarly, W. Gaṅga Pṛithivīpaṭi II assisted the emperor in the campaigns against the Bāṇa and Vaidumba chiefs.

In the reign of Sundara Chōḷa, the Bana and Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs took a leading part in the Chōḷa expedition to Ceylon and lost their lives in the war. The reign of Uttama Chōḷa saw the re-establishment of Chōḷa rule in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. But we have no knowledge of the role of the Milāḍudaiyars and Muṇaiyadaraiyars in that development. That is true also of the Vaidumbas.

In the time of Rājarāja I the feudatory chiefs served in the Chōḷa army with distinction. The Koṅgu ruler Vikrama I seems to have aided the emperor in his southern campaigns; and there is clear evidence for the Muttaraiya help in the expedition to Ceylon. We find similar service of feudatory chiefs in the reign of Rājēndra I. That emperor was ably assisted by his Muttaraiya subordinate in his war with W. Chāḷukya Satyāśraya. Similar military service was rendered by a milāḍu vassal in the time of Rājādhirāja I. Not much is known of such services of the vassals during the reigns of Rājēndra II, Vīrarājēndra and Adhirājēndra.

In the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, his Bāṇa and Adigamāṉ feudatories took an important part in the Second Kaliṅga war, while the

Kāḍava chief assisted him in the campaigns against the Gaṅgas and the Ceylonese. A Śambuvarāya chief seems to have taken part in the emperor's war with the Pāṇḍyas. A Muṇaiya chief served as general in the imperial army.

Vikrama Chōḷa was assisted by his Malaiyamāṉ vassal in the reconquest of Gaṅgavāḍi, and by his Pottapi Chōḷa vassals in the recovery of Vēṅgimaṇḍalam from the W. Chāḷukyas. The Kāḍava feudatory also seems to have helped the emperor in the latter enterprise.

The reign of Kulōttuṅga II saw the assistance to the emperor of the Velanāṇḍu ruler against the W. Chāḷukyas. There is the probability of the Koṅgu Chōḷa's participation in Rājarāja II's war with the Chēra king. Rājādhirāja II was ably assisted by his Śambuvarāya vassals in the Pāṇḍya civil war.

In the reign of Kulōttuṅga III, the emperor was assisted by his powerful Bāṇa vassal in maintaining the imperial peace and in the wars against the Pāṇḍyas and the Kākatīyas, as also against the recalcitrant subordinates. The Yādavarāya-Telugu Chōḷa alliance served the imperial authority as a counterpoise to the danger from the turbulent Bāṇa and Kāḍava vassals. It is noteworthy that in A. D. 1205 as many as eleven feudatories formed a coalition pledging their loyalty to the emperor and prohibiting all contacts with those Bāṇa and Kāḍava chiefs.

In the reign of Rājarāja III, the Telugu Chōḷa and Śambuvarāya vassals continued to be loyal to the imperial authority during the critical period of Pāṇḍya invasions and Kāḍava revolt. Later the

Telugu Chōḷas helped Rājēndra III in subduing the rebel Śambuvarāyas and the hostile Pāṇḍyas. Probably, a Vaidumba vassal also helped the emperor against the Pāṇḍyas. Rājēndra III had the fewest feudatories.

In spite of paucity of evidence about the administration of the vassals, there is no doubt that in some respects the feudatories made significant contribution. The public works of the Kāḍavas, the temple administration and coinage of the Koṅgu Chōḷas and the Telugu Chōḷas, deserve special attention.

As regards the contribution of the vassals to religion and arts we have noted in some detail about it in each chapter. The feudatories had a substantial share in fostering the orthodox sects like Śaivism and Vaishṇavism by building temples and *maṭhas* and by supporting learned men of those denominations. At the same time they did not show any sign of bigotry. Even heterodox sects like Jainism received their support. Their contribution to architecture, sculpture, learning, music and dance, noted above, testify to their share in the cultural progress of the empire. It may be noted here that some vassals themselves were noted for their learning and other accomplishments.

Now, we shall note the disservice of the vassals to the empire. Besides the Bāṇa and Vaidumba chiefs, the Gaṅgaraiya chief also seem to have helped the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Krīshṇa III at the battle of Takkōlam. The Milāḍuḍaiyārs and Muṇaiyadaraiyars shifted their loyalty to the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor after that battle. In the time of Vikrama Chōḷa, the Koṅgu ruler, Rājādhirāja Vīrasōḷa allied with the

Hoysaḷas against the emperor. Even the Velanāṇḍu ruler suffered from such vacillation. In the reign of Rājādhirāja II, the Velanāṇḍu rulers became independent of imperial control taking advantage of the emperor's preoccupation with the Pāṇḍya civil war.

In the reign of Kulōttuṅga III, the Koṅgu ruler Vīrasōḷa was put down by the emperor for some act of hostility or defiance, of which no information is available. Similar also was the conquest by that emperor of Kanchi from an aggressive Telugu Chōḷa feudatory. The large number of Private compacts made by feudatories with one another in the reign of Kulōttuṅga III shows their growing disregard for the imperial authority. The same trend grew in the subsequent period and eventually led to the sacrifice of imperial interests.

In the reign of Rājarāja III we find the Bāṇas letting the emperor down and collaborating with the aggressive Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya in his earlier invasion of the Chōḷa empire and receiving in return a part of the Chōḷa territory. Subsequently they disturbed the imperial peace. When again the same Pāṇḍya invaded the Chola territory the Bāṇa, Kāḍava and Adigamāṉ chieftains deserted the imperial cause, thus bringing about widespread demoralisation on the Chōḷa side. Kōpperuñjiṅga I's successful war with the emperor at Teḷḷāṟu, his imprisonment of the latter and occupation of the imperial territory, south of his jurisdiction, demonstrated not only the pathetic importence of the imperial authority but also the menacing growth of the might of the feudatories. But for the timely intervention of the Hoysaḷas the empire would have crumbled. The emperor regained his throne but not his old power and prestige. Even

before this, the Koṅgu Chōḷas and the Nishadarāyas ceased to be Chōḷa vassals, and became subordinate to the Pāṇḍyas.

In the reign of Rājēndra III, the last emperor, the Śambuvarāyas turned against the imperial authority. The emperor paid a heavy price for the loyalty and help of the Telugu Chōḷa, Tikka I, by acquiescing in the latter's occupation of the Kāñchi region. The Kāḍavas under Kōpperuñjiṅga II pursued an independent policy, occasionally helpful to the emperor. The Malaiyamāṉs came under the increasing control of the Kāḍavas. Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya was assisted by some Muṉaiyadaraiya chiefs in his conflict with Rājēndra III. The defeat of the Chōḷa and the subsequent success of that Pāṇḍya's *digvijaya* as far as Nellore in the north, made the Chōḷa feudatories change their allegiance to the Pāṇḍya. After this, Rājēndra III had only the fewest vassals.

Undoubtedly the activities of the feudatories constituted an important cause of imperial decline. As noted above, from the time of Kulōttuṅga I the vassals began making private political compacts with one another for maintaining their position. This was an unfortunate development inevitably leading to the transformation of a highly centralised and strong government into a feudal order thereby impairing the strength, unity and cohesion of the imperial fabric. Once allowed, a feudatory privilege of this kind, could not be regained by the imperial authority, particularly because the chieftains were hereditary. In the time of Kulōttuṅga II we find the feudatories fighting with one another. The Telugu Chōḷas of Pottapi and Nellore were feudatory to the emperor. Still the ruler of Nellore invaded Pottapināḍu, fought and won a bloody war. That the imperial

authority did nothing to prevent such wars is clear from their recurrence in other parts of the empire. The feudatory right to fight and conclude political pacts with one another, converted the empire into a number of warring principalities or the 'imperia into imperio'. In the time of Kulōttuṅga III, larger number of feudatories made such pacts thus fostering the centrifugal forces in the empire. In A. D. 1205 eleven feudatories combined against the Bana and Kāḍava chieftains. The incompetence of Rājarāja III encouraged the virtual independence of many important feudatories. His defeat at the hands of his overmighty vassal Kōpperuñjiṅga I and the subsequent imprisonment at Śēndamaṅgalam undermined the already declining power and prestige of the imperial authority The Hoysaḷa intervention, no doubt, saved the empire for some time but did nothing to check the fast growing disruptive forces; in fact, it had the opposite effect, as Dr Derrett thinks. Rājēndra III's efforts to regain the lost imperial authority over the vassals met with a very limited and transitory success. Even before the *digvijaya* of Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara I Pāṇḍya, the imperial authority was in a shaky position. Rājēndra III's defeat at the hands of that Pāṇḍya was the finishing stroke. In fact, the Pāṇḍya triumph converted the last Chōḷa emperor into a virtual vassal.

Feudatory insubordination was just one of the main reasons, and not the sole reason for the decline of the empire. The rise of the Hoysaḷas and the Kākatīyas, the resurgence of the Pāṇḍyas, the almost endless costly wars and above all the incompetence of some emperors like Rājarāja III, contributed in no small measure to the imperial decline. Indeed, we wonder not at the decline and exit in 1279 of

the Chōḷa power but at its survival till that time notwithstanding feudatory insubordination and treachery.

As established in the foregoing pages, the role of the feudatories in the affairs of the Chōḷa empire was both constructive and destructive. If, in the beginning they contributed to the growth and administration of the empire, they were also responsible for the later decay of the empire. There was nothing peculiar about the attitude of the Chōḷa feudatories towards their overlord. They were just like the Pallava or Chāḷukya vassals in serving loyally the powerful overlord, in defying the weak overlord and in deserting the vanquished overlord. As regards their contribution to the cultural progress of the empire, it was on the whole permanent and significant.

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232	7	hotilse	hostile
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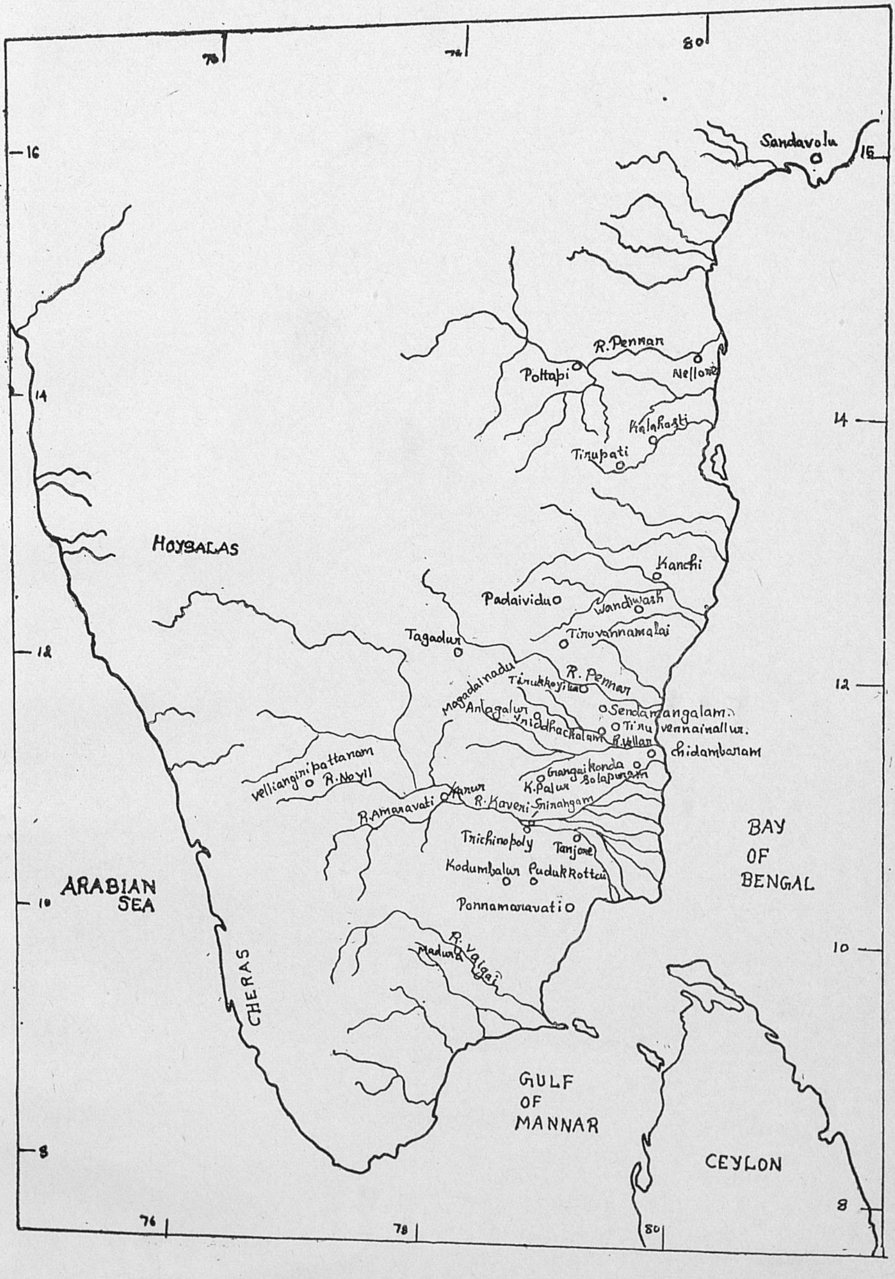
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Antagalur
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Vriddhachalam
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R. Vellar
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Tanjore
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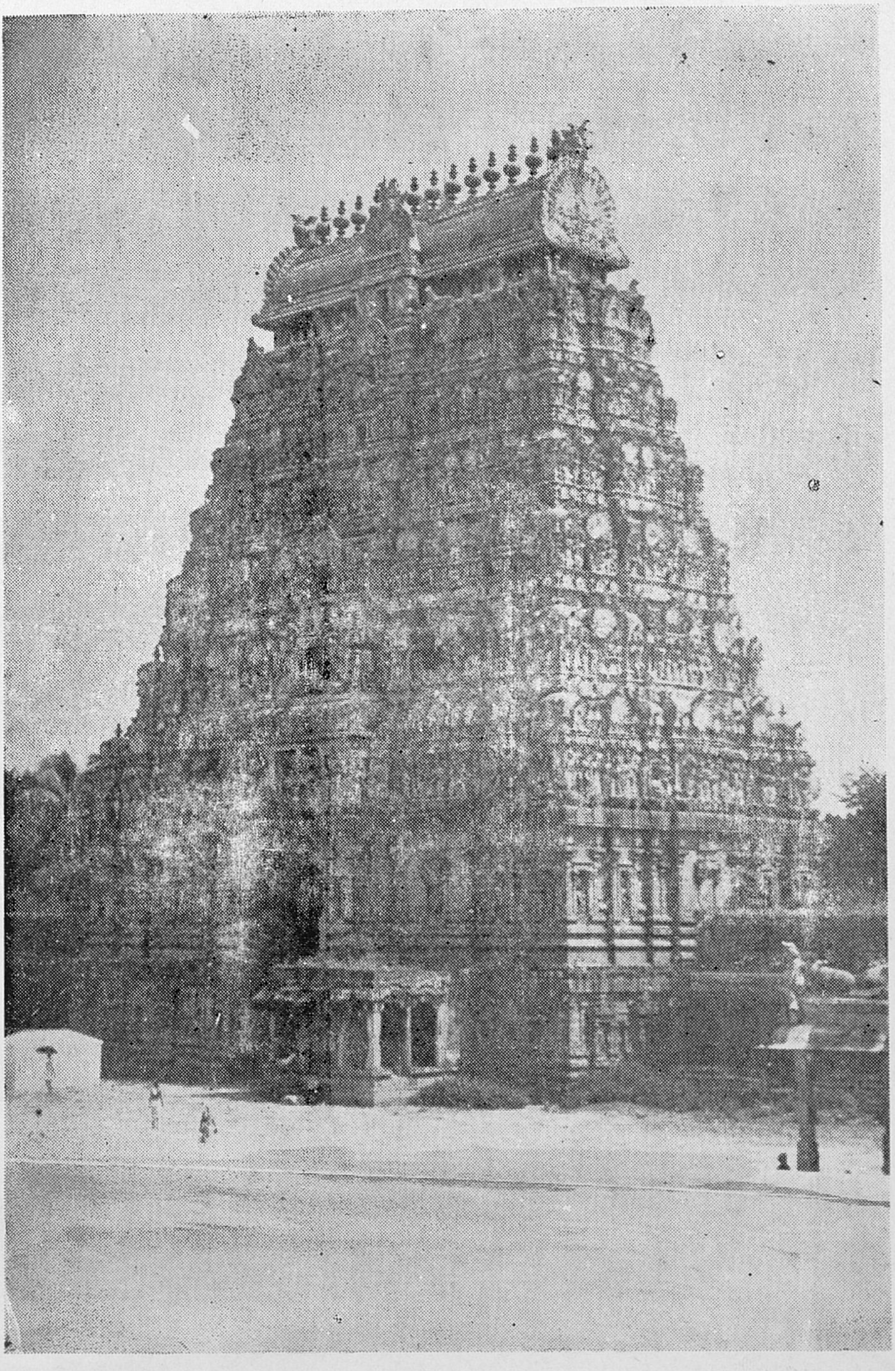
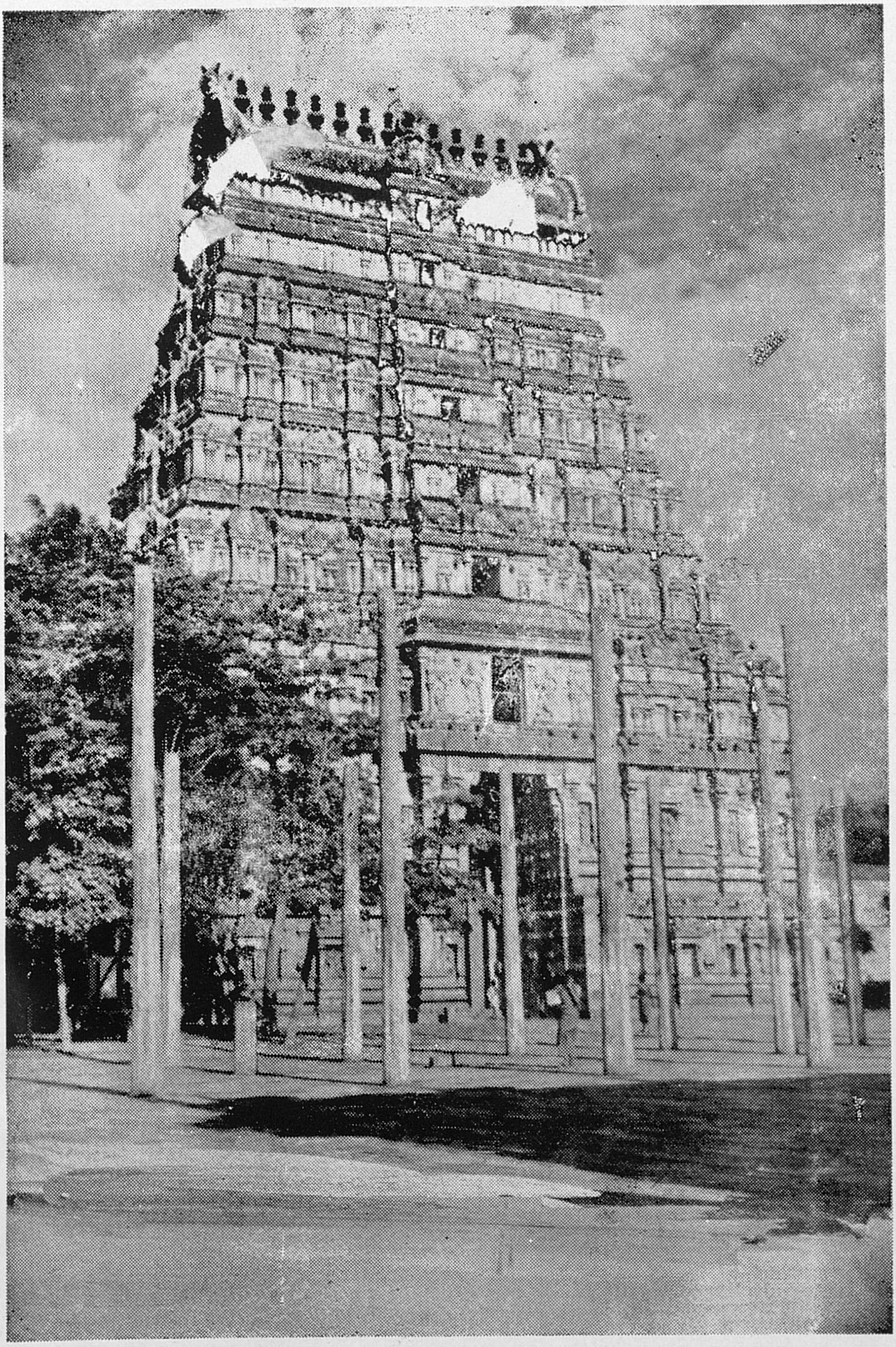


The South Gōpura of the Naṭarāja temple, Chidambaram, built by Kōpperuñjiṅga I.



The East Gōpura of the Natarāja temple, Chidambaram, built by Kopperuñjiṅga II.